

INSIDE: MURDER AND A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

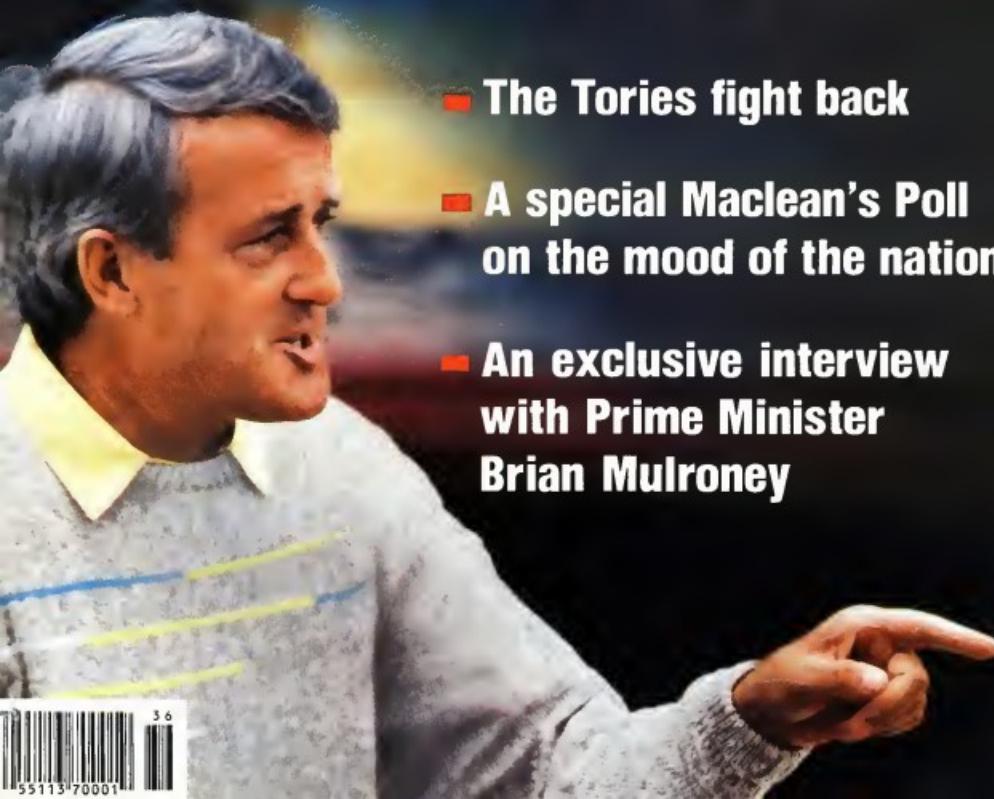
# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75

## COUNTERATTACK



- The Tories fight back
- A special Maclean's Poll  
on the mood of the nation
- An exclusive interview  
with Prime Minister  
Brian Mulroney



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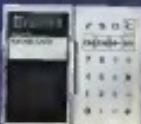
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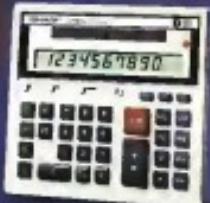
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 8, 1986 VOL. 10 NO. 36

## COVER

### Counterattack

Two years ago this week Canadian voters handed Brian Mulroney's Conservatives the biggest parlimentary majority since Confederation. But a new Maclean's/Decima poll—conducted as part of a special report on the Mulroney government at mid-term—shows that three out of five Canadians say the country would be better off with a different leader. —Page 10



### All in a Boston family

Joseph Kennedy III's campaign for a U.S. House of Representatives seat in November's midterm election revolves around his personality—and family connections. —Page 24



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### Grand arias in an arena

Performing a racy David Vestal opens in a hockey arena, Italy's famed La Scala company thrills audiences with grand arias and rock-concert technology. —Page 81



### Revving up on auto dollars

Last week's announcement of a new \$500-million, GM-Beru auto plant in Ontario caused concern about the danger of an overcapacity auto market in North America. —Page 22



### Incomplete confessions

In her new autobiography Tina Turner talks about sexual assaults on her by her former husband and a mother, though—but not about her abortion. —Page 56



### Man at the centre

**W**hen Maclean's prepared its 17-page Special Report last week on Canadian political trends and shifting voter patterns, it marked the tenth time that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney would appear on the cover since he was elected at Sept. 4, 1984. In that same year, except for Pierre Trudeau and Dalton, former of Wales, the magazine chose a worthy man a year ago. And it is remarkable of the honour to which Mulroney has established himself as a national figure who, both when the news is good and bad, has an impact across major



General and Whistler's perspectives on the subject of tree trade.

But in an interview, the Prime Minister told Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Chief Paul Gossell that his style will be different during the remainder of his first term in office. He said that he plans to spend more time away from Ottawa, travelling to the regions frequently and giving more administrative responsibilities to his senior ministers.

Gessell reported that Mulroney was apologetic during much of the interview, conducted in the Prime Minister's suite at the Hotel Newfoundland in St. John's. "He answered questions slowly and methodically," Gessell said. "But when the night turned to free trade he became animated and spoke with passion." He added, "When the interview was over, he even promised some tips on good nightspots to visit in the city."

Ken Doyle

Missouri Botanical Garden Library 8-1940

100

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 Story by Michael Eklund, Carl Mollner, Alan Walker  
 Art direction: Max Hirsch  
 Cinematography: Peter C. Sturman  
 Music: John Williams  
 Sound: Bruce Berman, Angelo Pavanetti  
 Special effects: Peter S. Geller  
 Production design: Lorraine Camp  
 Casting: Linda Tavelin  
 Production office: Film 4000  
 Special photography: John M. Bell  
 Visual effects: Film 4000  
 Sound editors: Alan R. and Mark A. Johnson  
 Sound mixers: Alan R. Johnson, Mark A. Johnson, Michael J. Sestito, Paul W. Sestito, Michael Sestito, Mark Harvey (Dialogue Editor), John (Soundmixer), Matt Wilson  
 ACE editor: Mark Harvey  
 Associate producer: Michael Eklund, Alan Walker  
 Production manager: Michael Eklund, Alan Walker  
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## LETTERS

### Constructive stance

As a native Winnipegger living in southern Africa for a total of 13 years, I should like to express my appreciation to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his government for the stance taken by them at the recent Commonwealth summit regarding the issue of sanctions against South Africa (World, "A crisis in the Commonwealth," Aug. 11). In a front-page story here, a senior Zimbabwean diplomat described Mulroney's participation as "most constructive," and the article went on to say that Mulroney presented the case for sanctions "perhaps better than many others who have much more credibility in the conflict." This courageous role is commendable. The fact that Mulroney has allied himself with the African position is significant now. Leaders of the developing world—especially "Brother states" adjacent to South Africa—are watching most carefully how the Western nations are responding to the crisis of apartheid. —JAMES RICHARD STRICKLAND, Zimbabwe

### Reduced to size

BC Premier William Vander Zalm is quoted as saying, "Few people realize that Tweedsmuir Park is the size of France" ("Eccentric from the record," Cover, Aug. 11). I am glad that such "realization" is, according to the premier, limited to just a few people, it follows logically that most people know differently. It may be mentioned though, for the benefit of the few, that Tweedsmuir Park covers less than two per cent of the area of France. Comparing the park to Vander Zalm's country of



**Protestant courageous participation**

### PASSENGERS

**DECEASED:** Actor Ted Knight, 66, who gained fame and two Emmy Awards as the comical and thick-witted news anchorman Ted Baxter on TV's 1970-71 series *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, died of cancer, in Pacific Palisades, Calif. Knight, who was born Eugene Wadsworth Koskiw in Terre Haute, Ind., had more than 300 TV roles during his career. In 1978 he starred as the owner of an escort service in the short-lived and unsuccessful TV series *The Ted Knight Show*. He went on to make a comeback in 1980 as a participant in ABC-TV's situation comedy *The Case for Conflict*. The network dropped the series in 1983, but it later successfully resurfaced in a new version, *The Ted Knight Show*.

**REVEALED:** By former Washington Redskins football star Jerry Smith, 36, that he is suffering from AIDS, a disease that makes him do all professional athletes seem to have contracted the fatal disease. Smith played for the National Football League's Redskins for 13 years as a split end and tight end and was among the 10 top pass receivers in the league from 1986 to 1988.

**APPOINTED:** General Electric Co. executive Robert Wright, 48, as president and chief executive officer of NBC-TV, which GE acquired earlier this year as part of its \$3.4 billion (U.S.) acquisition of NBC Corp.; effective Sept. 1. Wright replaces as CEO Grant Tinker, who led NBC from third to first in prime-time ratings for his five years as chairman. John Welch, chairman and CEO of GE, will assume Tinker's title of chairman.

**2000:** Former Liberal MP Bo Harries, 64, of a heart attack suffered while competing in a cutting horse competition in Langley, B.C. Harries, an economic columnist, was an Edmonton alderman from 1953 to 1959. He was elected an MP for Edmonton-Strathcona in 1968 and served until his defeat in 1972. In 1985 Harries was appointed to an arbitration board to decide distribution of toll revenues in the so-called toll war between Edmonton Telephones and Alberta Government Telephones.

**APPOINTED:** New Democrat MP Ian Deans, 49, as chairman of the Public Service Staff Relations Board, by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, effective Sept. 2. Deans was first elected MP for Hamilton Mountain in 1983, and since 1984 has served as NDP House leader, second-in-command to party leader Ed Broadbent. Deans had said earlier this year that he was not planning to run in the next election, adding at the time that he was spurred by the government's approach to work in the House

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## The dreams of summer

**A**t 11 a.m. in West Burlington, Iowa, the temperature was 22°C. The humidity as emanating 87 per cent. The living room of the sandcastle brick bungalow near a noisy freeway seemed even hotter. The room was bare, except for a sectional couch, a 15-inch television set and an assortments of running shoes and dirty socks. Sitting in front of the TV with a converter on his leg was Larry Walker, the left fielder for the Burlington Express, a Midwest League farm team owned by the Montreal Expos. Stretched out on the couch, Walker lied in hour watching *The Jeopardy!*

the Braves and a few episodes admiring Whitney Houston in a rock video. Said Walker: "There's not a lot to do and even if there was, I couldn't afford to do it."

For Walker, there was plenty of time to dream of making it to the big leagues from the little town on the Mississippi. At the steamy days of summer called by, nothing changed much except the names on the uniforms of the small-town oppositions: the Waterloo Indians, the Cedar Rapids Kernels, the Peoria Chiefs. Without a car and earning only \$1,800 a month, Walker's days were long and empty—the price of a shot at immortality.

Unlike many other players, Walker had a real chance. To the major league baseball scouts who followed his progress on the Class A farm club, the promising 16-year-old from Maple Ridge, B.C., had the talent to be a genuine baseball superstar. Wrote Carl Geston, sports editor for the local Burlington newspaper, *The News Eye*: "The Montreal Expos have never had a player from Canada before and it doesn't appear that it will be long before they have Walker."

For the manager of the Montreal Expos, the youth knapsack on the sofa that his summer boy was an investment of the future. They had signed him two years ago when scouts saw him at an international amateur tournament in Kindersley, Sask. The soon-to-be Olympian Sheldan had already吸引ed Montreal fans to the home-prepared in Iowa. During major league games the giant scoreboard in the big O had lit up with statistics on Walker's exceptional record in Burlington. His batting average had been a league-leading .386. As well, Walker led the league in home runs. By midseason he had scored 38 and was expected to top the 28-year-old league's all-time record of 42. "No question about it, he's a bright spot in this organization's plans," said Burlington manager J.R. (Junior) Moore, a 30-year veteran of minor league baseball.

But that day, Walker and the Express had just returned from a seven-day road trip, and the slagger was in a slump. His batting average had plummeted to a mere modest .235. "You can't take it too seriously," he said. "I figure 90 per cent of it is mental. For the two weeks my girlfriend came down from Maple Ridge in June, the average was up to .450."

In 1986, when Walker played for the Ulver, N.Y., Blue Sox, no one picked him as a superstar. And he had an indifferent season. But at spring training in West Palm Beach, Fla., earlier this year, Walker suddenly blossomed. "His talent compares with anything I've seen in 16 years," said Miner of the six-

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foot-two-inch, 185-lb. athlete who played hockey—not baseball—in high school. Added the manager: "If you put a 15-year-old American lad who had never played serious hockey before on an ice rink, what chance would he have of playing professional in a year? That he wouldn't have none."

At 4 p.m., with a breeze blowing in from the west, Walker caught a ride to Community Field, where hurried general manager Paul Marshall was trying to explain to three of the team's six Spanish-speaking ball players why they should return cracked bats before

he would issue replacements. "I call the cracked ones to the kids for \$50 bats," Marshall explained.

That night, an uneasy mood pervaded Community Field. And the Hank Kyn's Gaspit, the official scorekeeper for the night game against the Wauna, Wyo., Timbers, "Bob Walker responds in the next few days is crucial. Nobody knows if he can handle the pressure of a stamp." In the stands, three major league scouts unpacked radar guns used to measure ball speeds. Then at 7 p.m. baseball in Burlington, Iowa, came to life—with

an unusual twist. Field announcer Ed Cary dropped a tape into a gene box ghetto blaster and the Burlington Express welcomed the Wauna Timbers just as the parent team in Montreal would with visiting opponents—is French. "The first time we did that, heads turned," said Cary. "Now they expect it much more."

The farm league is an interesting world. Last year the Burlington team was Single A affiliate of the Texas Rangers. Now it is an independent farm—mainly. In Burlington, "They have a little shirt on paper," explained Marshall. As a result, the Kansas City Royals provided 21 players under an arrangement that specifies that Royals' minor men be worn at home and Royals uniforms on the road. "It's a little confusing," Marshall conceded, "but it works just fine."

In that night's game, the Express were trying to improve their 38-43 record in the League's Southern division. But, after two scoreless innings, Wauna's Pablo Miserere hit a two-run homer over the right field fence, latching it over a billboard advertising a local restaurant. In the tradition of small-town baseball, that sent him to a prime "A free steak dinner for Miserere at the Golden Corral," said Cary over the public address system.

In the seventh inning, Wauna third-baseman Mike Brantley drilled a ball out of the park. "We pop kids out there a quarter to bring them back," said Marshall, "every hit helps." The final score: Wauna Timbers 6, Burlington Express 0. Larry Walker, the Midwest League Player of the Month in May, struck out four batters.

After the game, the disappointed Burlington players drifted off into the night. For the team's 36- and 35-year-old veterans, the loss underlined their diminishing hopes of reaching the majors. For Walker, the loss had another twist. There would be no free sandwich at Shemagan's Bar for crashing a ball out of the park. But within weeks, he received a greater prize. His Montreal owners decided to reassign the young man from Maple Ridge to their West Palm Beach farm team. The Florida team has a better chance of winning its league pennant with the young star than did the Burlington Express.

Still, Walker reacted to the move with a little disappointment. The Midwest home-run record, which he seemed certain to break, will be unshattered. And even in Palm Beach, there would be plenty of serious days spent watching television, dreaming of Olympic Stadium, the majors and baseball immortality.

—ANN PISLAKOWSKI in Burlington, Iowa

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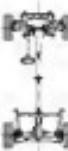
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AN AMERICAN VIEW

## Nothing succeeds like excess

By Fred Bruening

**T**hus has turned out to be a bust of a summer, what with the States of Liberty abasing and the latest royal marmosates going to events of substance. Let us leave said the states like it was a Cleopatra LeBaron and, predictably enough, by the Fourth of July, we had as much of Lady Liberty that one more milk chocolate moment in the form of a torch night has been enough to gag the entire republic.

As for Andrew and Fergie, why should Americans give a rat? Why should anyone get buried in Westminster Abbey and never in the Annex for five unforgettable days abroad the sooty Britannia? Over this, we are supposed to groan woe! Not that Charles Kennedy and his new husband, Edwin A. Schlossberg, offered such improvement. The spectacle of matinees pledging eternal love is not in itself inspirational unless, from their lineage, the newlyweds are vowed to tom \$300 bills.

It could be that this somewhat sullen is reflection of the national mood. One is tempted to say we are pooped these days by privilege than heat and humidity—by our well-educated upper-middle classes, we could have up-to-date highways, our automobile associations with respectable designers, our 24-hour news channel, our tax-free salons, our Dallas Cowboys cheerleaders, our upscale steakhouses, our imperial athletes, our quarter-ground bumper, our 7000 sq. lapchaises, our fifth-tables in the basement, our gaudily decked barbershops. For six years the national administration has been celebrating the wonders of our supply-side society, but even the President's own camp follows seem unenthused. Sighed one bumper sticker on a pickup tooling through the suburbs: "I'd Rather Be in Central America Sheeting Communists."

To the rest of the world, it must seem that our smugness is about to reach critical mass. In an exhaustive study on the academic excellence of Asian students, *The New York Times* reported that American mothers consistently judged their children to have the highest level of shyness—an outcome in optimism, as it turns out—while Japanese mothers harshly placed their offspring in the lowest category. Researchers concluded that U.S. moms demonstrated "an excess

of positive attitude," and who would have expected otherwise? Excessively positive is what we are supposed to be. Meanwhile, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology announced that 32 per cent of the 1986 freshman class will be filled by students of Asian extraction.

Beyond the big talk and self-promotion, though, is the distinct possibility that we are a pretty confused bunch of dopes. Even with air conditioners running full tilt, we don't seem to have much energy—intellectual or otherwise. In a Tennessee courtroom, we have been arguing evolution all over again. A television preacher says he wants to save us by running for the White House—proving, you understand, that Jesus approves. President Reagan's nominee for chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court is a fellow who can't quite bring himself to renounce the "separate but equal" doctrine.

*To the rest of the world it must seem that American smugness is about to reach critical mass*

triumph of race relations. On top of everything else, all the old make-breaks at the White House—including the President's—are submitting to voluntary euthanasia as a means of generating support for drug testing in the workplace. Are we in a mess or what?

Look at the movie *Homebrew*, for instance, one of the summer's big numbers. The film is based on a book of the same title by Nora Ephron, a brash and funny writer. Ephron once was married to Carl Bernstein, the former *Washington Post* reporter whose shadow was Watergate helped nudge Richard Nixon into a well-earned early retirement. So Ephron and Bernstein break up—no news there, right?—but she whistles a bit of *Homebrew* in the epilogues.

New Ephron may be a paradigm of decency and social-mindfulness, but this movie, which she wrote, reflects mostly in the fact that the American spirit needs collective treatment. Nicely made by director Mike Nichols, nicely played by Meryl Streep and Jack Palance, the film nevertheless amounts to little more than a yuppie's lament

Surrounded by every imaginable creature comfort, sustained by bright and caring friends, looking so very much in love, the Ephron character and the Bernstein character allow their partnership to self-destruct anyway. Why, exactly, no one explains. In the movie as in America, everything was right—except, of course, that something was wrong.

Hepburn is raised the ageless question of what we consider important—who we think we are and what we should become! Along these lines, government figures show that between 1974 and 1984 the number of undergraduate degrees in business and management granted by American universities increased by 75 per cent and the number in computer sciences by an astounding 539 per cent. In the same period, according to the U.S. department of education, degrees in the social sciences declined by 38 per cent, in library sciences by 78 per cent, in education by 20 per cent, philosophy and religion by 15 per cent.

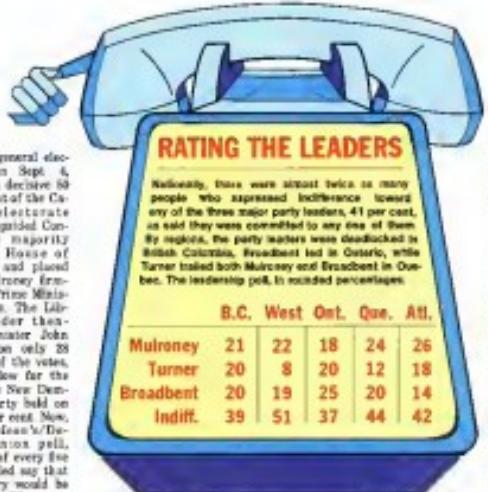
Isn't this a miserable state of affairs? We are mass-producing a generation dedicated mainly to the accumulation of wealth and the manipulation of personal, people who could easily comprehend the latest in software than the writings of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. The trend will be well for the sale of handbags, leather attaché cases and Colorado condominiums, but may not enhance our reputation. More to the point, all the business classes in the world cannot guarantee jobs. Psychotherapy is sure to continue as a boom industry.

The grand theme is that the administration's entrepreneurial panache remains woefully detached, constricted, apparently, that the nation is vital and the populace basking with contentment. President Reagan, ballyhooed as an icon whenever the opportunity arises, sounding a great deal like the American mommies who admit their small fry see prettiness. Best not to distract the presidential reverie. At the farm houses and gourmet food shops, however, there may be a certain turn toward postmodernism, a slight disjunction that cannot be eased by a song of imported lager or nibbles of beef. Could the American people be walking toward wisdom, after all? As Streep and Nichols attest, there are times when even the math may seem far from enough.

Fred Bruening is a writer with Newsday in New York.



# MOOD SWINGS



In the general election on Sept. 4, 1984, a decisive 59 per cent of the Canadian electorate swept the longed-for Conservative majority into the House of Commons and ousted Brian Mulroney firmly in the Prime Minister's Office. The Liberals under then-prime minister John Turner won only 28 per cent of the votes, a record low for the party. The New Democratic Party held on with 18 per cent. Now, in a Maclean's/Telusmedia opinion poll, three out of every five people polled say that the country would be better off with a new prime minister. At

the same time, just two years after Canadians voted Tory with such conviction, the poll shows that a majority of the electorate is only loosely committed to any political party or leader. The public uncertainty reflected in that finding comes at a pivotal period in federal politics. As Parliament prepares for a new session to open on Oct. 1, the politicians are under pressure to provide competent and credible government. Said Dechesne Research Ltd. chairman Allan Gregg: "The crucial naming time for the government, and the opposition parties, is the next six months."

The severity of that test is sketched in 156 pages of reconstructed opinions from 1,000 households nationwide, the computer data from a Decima telephone poll conducted for Maclean's on August 28 and 29. The efforts by federal politicians to meet the challenges of

a disaffected public are detailed in the following pages of this Maclean's Special Report. But the poll responses expose a pattern of sympathy toward the Conservative government's performance and doubts whether the rival parties would do better. Fifty-one per cent of the people said the country needs a new prime minister. But the poll reveals that the degree of indifference to all three federal party leaders is twice as strong as the commitment to any one of them. Fifty-six per cent would prefer a different party in power in Ottawa. But all three major parties are bracketed in popularity positions. And more than half of each party's popular support rests on people who said they were likely to switch to another party within the next two years.

Deborah Gregg, who analysed the poll responses, calculated that many

among the electorate's uncertain majority may make up their minds about the government—and the alternatives—roughly by the end of next September. That will be half-way through the government's maximum five-year mandate, although an election may be held within two years. Said Gregg: "Our findings show that 52 per cent of all decided voters claim that they are not committed to their current vote and might switch to another party." That uncertainty prevails in all parties and all regions of the country, although the highest likelihood of changing party loyalties was recorded among young people, upper-middle households, working women, francophones and Quebecers. Added Gregg, whose numerous clients include the Mulroney government and private industry: "While there will be a particular focus by the parties on female yuppie and Quebecers, the entire nation is up for grabs."

Meanwhile, no party mastered enough solid support in the polling to be able to claim a clear lead. Indeed, support for all three parties may well be clustered around the 30-per-cent mark after allowing for the poll's potential margin of error of these percentage points either way. Asked which party's candidates they would vote for in a current federal election—or were leaning toward, if uncertain—35 per cent said Liberal, 31 per cent Conservative and 28 per cent Tory. The remaining 10 per cent gave no answer.

said they would not vote or named another party candidate.

The weakness in the public's attachment to any party emerged when those who stated a voting preference were then asked whether they felt committed to that choice, or caught it more likely that they might switch to another party's candidate within two years. The answers reduced the core of committed support for each party by slightly more than half. For the parties, that pattern posed the challenge of trying to build a majority by drawing in wavering supporters of their rivals while holding on to their own weakly attached voters. Poll responses show that the PCs has been the most successful in attracting newly committed supporters—13 per cent of its total compared to seven per cent for the Liberals and six per cent is estimated Conservative. Conservative sources, if all potential voters who went to second-choice parties are included, say that a slight widening of the Liberal party's current lead still the larger proportion of potential vote switchers expect, said Gregg. "An acute unhappiness with the performance

## 'UP FOR GRABS'

More than half the supporters of each party said they might switch their vote to another party as a second choice in the next two years. This table, in percentages, shows the total vote each party would receive if it managed to hold its potential defectors and to capture vote-switchers from other parties.



## KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES

The Maclean's/Decima poll indicates that a majority of Canadians believe that the country's situation has improved during the past two years—or that they have done better than average personally. But it also shows that more than four out of five people feel that they are at least keeping up with the Joneses.

The poll asked people to assess the situation of the average Canadian—is it, effect, the country at large—and then to say whether they believed they had personally done better or worse than average, or stayed the same. A total of 36 per cent said that they either did better than the average or did about the same. More detailed analysis of the

responses shows that 33 per cent believe the country's situation worsened but their own situation improved. Except for the small minority who said they were worse off while the average situation improved, all the rest said that they were in step with the country—do better or worse.

An upbeat 28 per cent said things had improved both for them and the average Canadian. Another 21 per cent saw no change in their own situations, or in that of the country. There were 10 per cent in a gloomy grey zone, although they believed their situation was average, said that things had worsened both personally and in the country at large.

### CANADA PERSONAL

IMPROVED	31	39
THE SAME	39	46
WORSENCED	29	15

(percentages)

## PARTY PREFERENCE

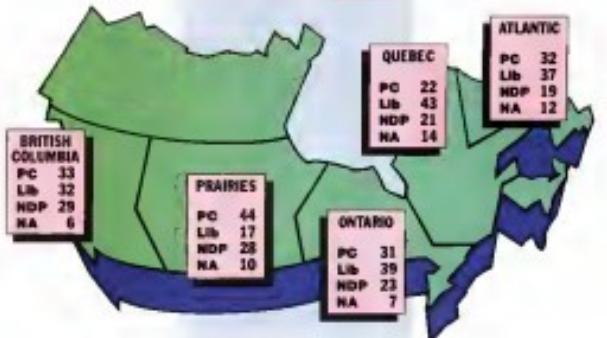
worse than the Mulroney Tories. And one in five of the people polled said that the country needs a new national political party altogether.

Opponents of the party leaders were equally frustrated and mostly upset are Leader Ed Broadbent, matched Mulroney, each with 21 per cent of the poll, in ratings on prime ministerial ability. Turner started with 16 per cent (page 18) but more people, 30 per cent, said the job should go to somebody other than the current party leaders—and then named 56 candidates, many of them unknowns. The leader among those written candidates was Jean Chretien, runner-up to

a federal election were held tomorrow which party's candidate would you vote for, or whom are you leaning toward? (In percentages. MA = no answer)

CANADA

PC Lib NDP NA



Tarren in the 1984 Liberal leadership contest. Twenty per cent of all the people polled backed Chrétien as prime minister. Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau was second with almost four per cent. The ratings on the three party leaders were drawn from poll questions as whether Mulroney was doing well as prime minister and from responses that said Turner or Broadbent would do a better job. Overall, there were almost twice as many people who indicated indifference toward any of the three major party leaders, 41 per cent, as they were committed to any one of them.

In Ontario, Turner was ahead with 25 per cent of committed voters, Turner was second with 23 per cent and Malouney trailed with 18 per cent. Quebec, a Liberal stronghold before Malouney's Conservative win a

election popularity peak 18 months ago, his government has fallen by as much as 25 percentage points in opinion ratings. Although the opposition parties have gained popularity, many of the people who have defected from the Tory camp now are among the supporters of the other parties. Some analysts say that the continued state of political uncertainty, a result of the lack of clear voting results in the 1988 election and the disillusionment that set in afterward, has led George "Our father" to believe that many voters who supported the Conservatives in the 1988 election have been driven away from

cited management issues and 19 per cent named tax reform. Eight per cent said simply that the government should listen more carefully to the people.

Many of the people, the poll indicates, believe that they are better off than their neighbours. Asked to rate the personal situation of the average Canadian during the past two years, and to compare it with their own, about 60 per cent said that they had done better than average. Fifteen per cent said they were worse off than the average, and the rest said they were about the same. Assessing the situations of others, the poll divided almost evenly, at 36 per cent each, those who said the average Canadian's situation had improved during the past two years and those who said it had worsened. The rest saw little or no change. Analysis of the responses shows that those who say things have improved for themselves and others are more likely to say they would vote to re-elect the federal government, while the rest are unlikely to be government supporters.

These responses reinforce the opinion of many commentators that what concerns Canadians most about their government and their political system are issues of trust and competence.

## TO RE-ELECT OR REPLACE

both supporters and opponents of the Conservative federal government include committed voters and others more neutral-those who would vote a re-elect because they think "no other party could do a better job," or who would vote to put a different party in power because "no party could do a worse job."



the suggestion that the country should look beyond the three federal party leaders for a prime minister. Even more, 77 per cent rejected the proposition *census is the poll* that "the country needs a new alternative to the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and the NDP federally." The same proportion said there was no need for new provincial parties.

The poll's strong note of confidence in the country's present party system contrasted sharply with the evidence that more than half of those polled are uncertain in uncertainty about which party they should support. But, altogether, more people expressed a preference for a party's candidate at an election were held, than for the party leaders. Analysis of the poll indicates that the main reason for the uncertainty in the electorate is that many people are uncomfortable with any of the party leaders. The competence issue is dominant—a factor highlighted by poll expenses showing that even those who say the present government should be replaced still overwhelmingly prefer "better government" as a primary concern. Said Deanna's Gregg: "The ultimate test by which the government will be judged in coming months will have good old-fashioned consequences."

—CARL WILLIAMS

#### CANDIDATES FROM ELSEWHERE

According to the Modern Lib Dem's poll, what the country may need is a Tiger in the Prime Minister's Office. On a real oasis. Tiger Williams, a terror on the ice-holes of the National Hockey League, gets one vote in the preference prime ministerial preferences, while the current party leaders are excluded. So does Kevin Macdell, the Canadian who stars in *Inferno's* *X*. Elsewhere, and so on.

In all, 36 per cent of the people polled said that somebody either

than Brian Mulroney, John Turner or Ed Broadbent would make the best prime minister. Jean Chrétien, a surprise up to Turner for the federal Liberal leadership, was the winner with 189 of the 466 transfer votes. Next came three former government leaders—Trudeau with 84 votes, Alberta's Peter Lougheed with 38 and Joe Clark with 13.

Williams and Mandell were a powerful political company in the single-vote category. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher also drew a vote

spies. But the hockey player and the comic actor have an advantage over the President and the British Prime Minister. Although Williams and MacNeill are based in Los Angeles—MacNeill for his TV series and Williams for his book—Williams' cover with the NHL's Kings—both are Canadians.

But Mandel, for one, was ruffed because he drew only one vote. "Personally, I think polls are silly," he told MacLean's. "If you look at the cold, hard facts you will find I'm doing much better than that."

# THE TORIES FIGHT BACK

COVER

**F**or decades Canadians had seemed rather as unfed as at home. On Sept. 4, 1984, a majority of voters in every province handed the Progressive Conservatives the largest parliamentary majority since Confederation, ending two decades of almost continuous Liberal rule. The nation's attention that historic night was riveted on a modest momentum centre in the small northern Quebec town of East Angus. There, Brian Mulroney, the tall, rumpled soft, beamed with confidence as he stood with his beautiful wife, Mila, before hundreds of cheering supporters.

Two years later the euphoria is decidedly waned. Almost halfway through their mandate, the Tories have clobbered the Liberals in opinion polls for five consecutive months. Four Conservative cabinet ministers have resigned amid controversy—raising questions about the government's competence and credibility. And the Prime Minister himself, private party polls reveal, is largely untrusted by Canadi-

ans. In Metro Toronto, a central component of any political strategy, only 31 per cent of voters say they trust Mulroney—compared to 65 per cent for Liberal Leader John Turner.

Mulroney is fighting back, but political analysts say that he will have to act quickly. His chief pollster, Allen Gregg of Toronto-based Decima Research Ltd., says flatly that the Tories have a "window of opportunity" to reverse public fave, but he adds, "the window is closing as the next six months."

**Defiance:** Last week, during a four-day swing through Atlantic Canada, there was ample evidence of the way to beat the odds. In Fredericton, Mulroney appointed veteran Conservative strategist Dalton Camp as a senior adviser to the cabinet (page 24). In Halifax, the Prime Minister signed a new energy accord giving Nova Scotia a greater share in oil and gas production revenues and declared that Ottawa had not done enough to strengthen the economic fibre of the Maritimes.



Mazankowski with Mulroney at a meeting in St. John's: a six-month 'window of opportunity'

Then, in St. John's, the government appointed Sir Ian Denyer, a long-time Tory critic, as a senior post in the public service—an attempt, observers say, to defuse charges of excessive Tory patronage. Late, wringing up three days of meetings with the new cabinet, Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski formally pronounced the first session of the 32nd Parliament—and called a new one for Oct. 1. Concluded Mulroney: "We have got to tighten up on our procedures, we have got to deliver more effectively on the political side. We have got to respond better to the issues that come upon us."

**Burgers:** Senior Tory officials have been at work all summer on a blueprint for the second half of the government's mandate. Although many scoff at Gregg's six-month deadline, they acknowledge that prompt action is essential to repair the government's image and the Prime Minister's—before the anticipated general election in 1988. In creating momentum, the Tories plan to portray themselves as better organized, more caring and more innovative. At the same time, the Prime Minister's advisers are determined to give him a more statesmanlike image by distanc-

ing him from the political fray.

In fact, the government has already undergone major surgery. In the last few months, dozens of cabinet ministers, senior civil servants and party officials have been fired or reassigned. Many of Mulroney's routine tasks have been passed over to Mazankowski, the respected government House leader, so that the Prime Minister can avoid the rigorous schedule in Parliament and devote more time to what his aides feel does best—travel the country attending supporters.

**Concerned:** They strategists have also drawn up a legislative agenda for the next two years. The main issues on the list: tax reform, free trade and constitutional change. All are fraught with risks—and any one of the three might sap another. Said Mulroney in an interview last week with Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Chief Paul Gossell (page 16): "This is a government that is not afraid to take some chances on behalf of Canada. We're not playing it safe. We'll be judged on that."

The Tories will reveal more of their game plan this month. Following the St. John's gathering of the cabinet's 16-member privy council and planning committee, the full cabinet was scheduled



Atkins (left) with Camp: a plan to portray the Conservatives as more caring

Arriving at the Fredericton Inn after a meeting with New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield, the Prime Minister was confronted by more than 100 workers from the Canadian National Railways yards in Moncton, where up to 600 workers are due to be laid off. The railroaders complained that while Mulroney had spent millions of dollars in federal money in his home riding of Miramichi, he had done nothing about their problems.

Shoring up his base in the path of McIvor's, the demonstrators followed Mulroney inside the hotel, then heckled him during his address to an enthusiastic crowd of 1,000 supporters. But the Conservative leader deftly turned aside their threats with jocular insults borrowed from his 1984 election campaign. Pungling heavily, Mulroney then delivered a rousing speech that had his audience jumping, shouting and clapping in appreciation. Said an aide to the Prime Minister later: "It'll be that way for the next two years. Macmillan will be in Ottawa and Mulroney will be travelling."

**Canada:** But according to the Maclean's/Deutsche poll, Mulroney's attempt to change public attitudes about his government is a misnomer, not a regional problem. The survey indicates that only 31 per cent of respondents would vote Conservative if an election were held now, compared with 38 per cent for the Liberals and 34 per cent for the New Democrats. Among voters polled, 70 per cent say no need for the government to adopt a new direction, but still it could do a better job at getting its policies into effect. Said Edward Crosby, Conservative MP from Hastings West: "People follow into rhetoric. What people want is action." Another senior member of the Tory back bench was equally candid. The Prime Minister's Office, he said, had no change control mechanism, "so there's no perspective." Without perspective, "they keep repeating those errors, running in circles, never learning."

The result, like many political analysts around the world, is the extraordinary willingness by Mulroney to last year's round-table affair, multilateral negotiations and other subjects. Thus, they say, have damaged his credibility. Dan Atkins, head of the political science department at Waterloo's University of Waterloo, says Mulroney's main fault is that he "bores everybody to death." As a result, says Atkins, he is reluctant to make politically attractive decisions. Former Liberal cabinet minister Jean-Loup Pepin, now lecturing in political science at the University of Ottawa, has harsher words for Mulroney. Said Pepin: "He suffers from an acute psychological need to embellish truth."

The Prime Minister himself dis-

ments those agencies—and the current polls. As he told MacKenzie's *Advertiser*, you had expectations have not been met and dissatisfaction has set in." That's normal. At the end of his second year, Ronald Reagan received little popular support. Margaret Thatcher was down in the ditches and so on. But all responded and won subsequently with great popularity.

To boost his own standing, Mulroney plans to spend a good deal of time in the coming weeks at tea parties and craft fairs, appealing to legged Tories. Says Senator Narvaez Atkins, Mulroney's chief election strategist, the best way to win over the electorate "is by persuading our own supporters just how effective this government has been."

**Competitors.** A Western swing is scheduled later this month, but Mulroney is expected to concentrate his efforts on Quebec, where the Tories had just 22 per cent support in the Bloc Québécois' Quebec poll, despite winning 36 of 75 seats in the last election. The Prime Minister has already visited his 11 Quebec ministers for a two-day campaign of pre-election stamping. Senior Tories say that Mulroney, a Quebecer, can still beat Turner head-to-head in the province, but that the profile of Tory ministers and MPs is dangerously low. Said one Mulroney confidante: "Everyone in Quebec knows Brian. But they don't know even a [Treasury Minister] Marcel Masse or a [Industry Minister] Michel Cliche."

Despite its record in the polls, the government's relationship with the business community has strengthened—largely because of initiatives on tax reform, free trade and deficit control. Last winter's feacsons on Texaco's Bay Street were critical of the government's lack of resolution, which some businessmen referred to as the "wing factor." Said Thomas D'Agostino, president of the Business Council on National Issues, a lobby group: "That view has substantially subsided."

At the same time, the Tories have struck a tentative peace with social policy groups. Terrence Hanley, executive director of the independent Canadian Council on Social Development, said plainly as some right-wing Tories cut social expenditures were dashed because they learned that there is "a higher regard for social equality in

Canada than they had thought."

In fact, the Conservatives are now attempting to portray themselves as a government of social conscience, attempting to help the disadvantaged. A key minister in the effort will be Barbara McDougall, the minister responsible for the status of women. Her goal is to show the party's support among women by providing upgraded job training, health and child care programs—an issue that all parties agree is shaping up as a big election issue.

Those controversies overshadowed the government's attempts to promote economic recovery and national reconciliation. Since the Conservatives came to power, inflation has remained close to a manageable four per cent, unemployment has dropped to 9.9 per cent in July from 11.7 per cent in September 1984, and the interest rates have plummeted to about 8.5 per cent from 12.3 two years ago. Federal-provincial relations have also been relatively smooth.

**Impersonal.** Despite those achievements, senior party officials know from private polls that the electorate has remained dissatisfied. The June cabinet shuffle was, in part, an attempt to improve the government's standing. In all, six ministers were fired, 21 reassigned, eight new faces added and more Quebecers were given responsible portfolios. The most important change: Manakowski's move from the transport department to deputy prime minister.

Operating out of the Langdon Block across Wellington Street from the Parliament buildings—where Mulroney also has his office—Manakowski is now known as Tory党中央的 "chief operating officer," with Mulroney as chairman of the board. Except for last week's session in St. John's, Manakowski has chaired every cabinet meeting since June. The Prime Minister has also appointed political chiefs in each province, including Manitoba (Quebec) and Wilson (Ontario). Now, beginning his day with a 6 a.m. ride on his bicyclette bicyclette, Mulroney has more time to deal with important matters. Relying on his bedridden mother, he only breaks in to exchange words with his chief.

After shuffling his cabinet, Mulroney turned to the civil service, first naming a reorganized 24 senior bureaucrats and brought in two fresh faces—Bruce Hayes as secretary of the science and technology ministry, and Norman Spearman, former B.C. premier, as secretary of state for trans-

port or Dec. 31 after disagreeing publicly with her cabinet colleagues. Sandra Stewart resigned as industry minister on May 12 over conflict-of-interest allegations. The resulting political inquiry into Stewart's affairs has dominated the minister news, embarrassing the government with daily embarrassments.

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**Seconded:** The Tories are also anxious to fix Ottawa by bringing Quebec into the Constitution. It repeated in 1982

for subsidies and deficiency payments for farmers this fall. Still, the rest of the problem—depressed commodity prices on a global scale—is beyond the government's control. And if another recession strikes during the next few years, as some economists predict, Mulroney could be knocked off its carefully charted course.

As he grapples with those problems, Mulroney will confront not only constant attacks from opposition parties backed by favorable opinion polls, he will also have to deal with increasing realignments among right-wing Tory backbenchers, who want to reinstate capital punishment after more than



Mulroney and his wife Mila on election night conference



Mulroney in St. John's (left), Mulroney and Buchanan in Halifax; ample evidence of the Tory rush to beat the clock

package policy initiatives to make them appealing. The most important plan is to overhaul the federal tax system. The proposed reform would lower personal income taxes and eliminate loopholes. Details of the reforms and a related overhaul of social programs will likely surface in an anticipated February budget.

**Damages.** Two other initiatives are expected to reach a critical point early next year: constitutional reforms and free trade. Trade talks with the United States, which began May 20 and are expected to conclude before the end of 1987, have been affected by rising protectionist sentiment south of the border, where congressional elections are facing November elections. A decision this fall by the U.S. International Trade Administration to slap countervailing tariffs on Canadian exports of softwood lumber could also damage the talks. But Mulroney officials say an initial agreement on a mechanism for dealing with trade irritants could surface by February—

is possible, but only if Ontario and the other provinces agree to five conditions, ranging from greater control over immigration to a Quebec veto over future constitutional changes. Mulroney has already scored one victory as that front convinces the other nine premiers to share their own demands for constitutional reform until Quebec's are addressed. A successful conclusion to the talks would be a victory for Mulroney and could revive Tory fortunes in Quebec. Said Stephen Harper: "Mulroney needs to score again in Quebec."

Some Tories say Mulroney's concern about the Constitution may distract him from economic issues. Said Tory Mr. Crosby: "People say we're getting a repeat of Mr. Trudeau's let-them-eat-Congress approach to economics." But Mulroney dedicates his economy to his chief concern. His priorities are the economic front—trade easing regional disparity and helping Western provinces hurt by low wheat, lumber and energy prices. The government may announce its breaks

for business and favor larger cuts in the deficit. But Mulroney's advisers are convinced that the performance of the government—not the opposition—will determine the outcome of the next election. Said Atkins: "I subscribe to the theory that governments are defeated, not elected."

**Challenging:** Free politicians are more easily aware of that than External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. In May 1979, Clark led the Conservatives to victory over Prime Minister Trudeau's Liberals. Nine months later, after a shaky performance in office, he was defeated. The experience was chastening, and in Sept. 4, 1984, as Mulroney celebrated his 61st birthday, the former prime minister observed: "Our real test will be how we are dealt with such a massive majority. Our real test will be four years from now." That appears to have been an extremely prescient remark.

—PAUL GIBBELL of St. John's with  
HELEN MACLENNAN in Ottawa and  
correspondent reports

At a three-day meeting with his top cabinet ministers in St. John's last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney committed to draft policies aimed at supporting an Conservative government's first term in the second half of the mandate. Before Mulroney returned to the capital, MacLean's Ottawa Bureau Chief Paul Gossel interviewed the Prime Minister. Some excerpts.

**Mulroney:** You know that the government has done a good job on the bigger things but not so well on the smaller things. What are the smaller things?

**Mulroney:** Take the bigger things as put it in perspective. Our competitiveness has jumped to ninth position from 13th in two years. Interest rates are down to their lowest in eight years. Federal-provincial relations are in a new state of unity and productivity. [External Affairs Minister] Joe Clark and his colleagues have conducted Canada's international affairs with great dignity and accomplishment. These are the big-ticket items. The smaller things are what seem to attract attention from Ottawa. For example, the problem involving [Energy Minister Marcel] Masse [who left the cabinet for two months last fall while police investigated alleged election spending irregularities]. That achieved infinitely more attention than declining interest rates ever did. I understand that and I accept that, but it's a fact of life.

**Mulroney:** In the MacLean's poll, 79 per cent of the respondents said no word for the government to adopt a new environmental direction, but support for the party was quite low. How do you explain that?

**Mulroney:** Well, I think they say that because they're not called upon to consider the alternatives. They know they're not going to be called upon to



Mulroney during interview with MacLean's big ticket items

## 'WE'RE NOT PLAYING IT SAFE'

COVER

vote for us now, as they have the liberty of looking at us in isolation, rather than in comparison with the Liberals and the rest. It's my hope that when that comparison is made we will be found to be a desirable alternative. Secondly, in mid-term you had expectations have not been met and disappointment has set in. That's normal.

**Mulroney:** With Deputy Prime Minister David Mazzakowski — we

being labelled the government's chief operating officer, is there a danger the public will perceive that you are more interested in personal matters than running the government?

**Mulroney:** No. A prime minister can't disengage any of his executive responsibilities. That goes with the job. What we can do is seek out the best people to help you. There is a great administrative burden on ministers who [must] help the chief operating officer of a government, they has a party role and a parliamentary role and an international role to play. So what Mr. Mazzakowski has been asked to do is to help me on the administrative side so I will be freed to spend more time in the regions, more time with the provincial premiers.

**Mulroney:** When you see some of the mistakes that have been made and look at the polls, do you feel you should take any personal blame?

**Mulroney:** Oh, I don't

think there is any leader who should not bear the responsibility when things go poorly. Whether he is directly responsible or not is irrelevant. He is the leader of the team and he is responsible.

**Mulroney:** Some politicians say you have only about one month to regain the support you have lost. Do you agree?

**Mulroney:** No, that's silly. There is no urgency. There is an imperative beyond trying to do a better job for Canada. We've done the big things, as I indicated, with some considerable success. We have now set out a number of challenges, including constitutional negotiations, free trade negotiations and tax reform. These are positive, productive, dynamic kinds of goals for Canada. This is a government that is concerned enough to take some challenges on behalf of Canada. We're not playing it safe. So I think we'll be

judged on that, and what happens in the next six months is no more or no less important than what has happened in the previous six months or six years ago.

**Mulroney:** In light of the oil you are getting in the energy and agriculture areas, will you be able to meet your target of \$10 billion in federal budget deficit by the fall?

**Mulroney:** I think [Finance Minister Michael] Wilson has conveyed to you his concern about being able to meet that goal. Obviously, as we have had to act to help the energy and agriculture sectors. Commodity prices have dropped dramatically from original expectations and as we're paying a price for that and it will impact our figures. The important thing is that deficits are going down, not up. Discretionary public spending is going down, not up. Interest rates are going down, not up. Unemployment figures are going down, not up. These are the things on which we will be judged.

**Mulroney:** Quebec has strict conditions for signing the Constitution. Are there any you don't like?

**Mulroney:** The negotiating process hasn't begun. My first objective in this was to return to the provincial premiers with that they undertake the process with an open mind and without encumbering the process with other items. I hope it can be dealt with in a mood of serenity and reassurance. Premier Marois has put some views. It's my hope that some degree and variation of that package will find favor with the premiers and the federal government.

**Mulroney:** Do you feel you must get a trade agreement before 1988, when President Ronald Reagan, politically, will be a lone duck?

**Mulroney:** I thank when President Reagan leaves, free traders will have lost a very valuable ally. He has stood very strongly and firmly for more liberalized trade, at considerable economic and political cost to himself. Which is not to say his side is always perfect. We've had some freer-spending episodes, and we'll probably have more. But what remains is where we stood on a great historic change such as liberalized trade — making a more competitive and productive economy, opening it up to a vast new market of 250 million people and thereby creating new jobs and wealth for Canada. So there's the slightest doubt in my mind that this government stands on the right side of history. That will be attacked obviously. But ultimately, we will prevail, and ultimately Canadians will endorse this because it is the proper and right thing for a strong, independent and mature country to endorse. □

## P.S. SEND MONEY

**T**he envelopes that landed in 50,000 Canadian households last week bore most of the characteristics of junk mail bonds each package was a "Dear Friend" letter addressed to "Dear Friend," an appeal for \$70 and a certificate offering a "money-back guarantee." But there was one unusual thing about the letter: its source was the federal Party of Canada. The party's unprecedented offer to guarantee its performance underscored its need to pay off a debt of more than \$4 million. It also signalled



Young: no more waiting until the election is called before knocking on doors

the Liberals' decision to rely more heavily on direct mail, the most powerful fund-raising system yet devised.

Generations of politicians have relied on door-to-door campaigns and an corporate beggars to raise money. But in recent years direct-mail appeals have become the backbone of party treasuries. All three parties attribute their newfound power to a 1974 amendment to the Canada Election Expenses Act, which made most contributions tax-deductible. At the time, legislators said that the act would lessen corporate influence on politics, but others claimed that it would have an unfavorable impact. Sad Quarles, University political scientist William Irvine: "The cynical view is that elections were starting to become more than the highest paid cause."

Between 1981 and 1987 the act provided a remarkable stimulus. In 1979 the three major parties together reported donations of \$215 million. Five years later the Conservatives alone raised \$21 mil-

lion, and the Tories' \$14.6 million.

**Litigation:** The NDP has a financial problem of a different kind. The party has always relied for funds on union and private donations because of a lack of business support. Donations from unions have accounted for as much as 38 per cent of resources in election years. But in July an Ontario Supreme Court judge ruled that a union could not use the mandatory dues of members to support political activity. However, that judgment has been appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. "It will take five or 10 years of litigation before we know what stance we can and cannot do," said Dennis Young, the federal secretary.

Whatever the court's verdict, all parties are likely to pursue direct-mail activity. Declared Young: "The old adage that you waited until the election was called before you knocked on doors [is] gone."

— MARC CLARK in Ottawa

# TURNER'S NEW STRATEGY

COVER

**F**or John Napier Turner, it looks like to be a case of bailing his party. More than 3,000 pairs of eyes will be trained on him at the party's national convention in Ottawa in November, and each delegate will likely be wondering a similar thought: can the Liberal leader win the next election? Just 27 months ago at a dramatic leadership convention in Ottawa, another gathering of Liberal delegates thought he could not last. Three months later the party was nearly crushed by Brian Mulroney's Conservative campaign. Now at mid-term, Turner is preparing to ask his party for a second chance. And as most Liberals know, his future—and the party's—is unpredictable.

**Reappearance** In the two years since his defeat, Turner, 57, has travelled more than 400,000 km across the country trying to rebuild the shattered Liberals. From St. John's to Victoria, from Whitehorse to Windsor, he has recruited organizers, recruited volunteers, patiently answered questions on obscure off-line radio shows and, in the process, earned theudging respect of his 38-member caucus. For his efforts, the party has climbed to 11 per cent from 21 per cent in public opinion polls—eight percentage points ahead of the Tories. But when MacLean's spoke to key Liberals across the nation last week, it was clear that doubts about Turner's leadership remain. Coaxed George Boag, former president of the party's Ontario association: "You have to look at it through the periscope of visibility."

To allay those fears, Turner will first try to persuade the delegates to the November assembly not to vote

for a new leadership convention. On paper, all he needs is 50 per cent to claim that he has the confidence of the party. Many party apprentices say Turner will easily win that vote—

As well, deep pockets of anti-Turner discontent exist in Quebec, Alberta and the Maritimes. Many Liberals favour Jim Chisholm, who contested Turner for the leadership in June,



Turner greets supporters near Guelph, Ont., after a rocky start, the Liberals lead in the polls

with as much as 70 per cent support. But the feel tally is critical. Said Dennis Edwards, visiting professor of political science at Yale University and a former aide to Lester Pearson and Joe Clark: "Everything depends on the percentage of the vote he gets in the fall—even though nobody will admit it." Slave farmer Conservative leader Joe Clark decided in 1983 that

1984, and who resigned his seat last February, apparently to practice law. Party officials said MacLean's that there is no organized support—not even a pro-Chisholm movement nor a dump-Turner brigade. But these assurances have not stopped dissidents from casting polls suggesting that the Liberals would do better with Chisholm at the helm.

**Chisholm** While not actively campaigning, Chisholm has let it be known that if he were asked to serve, he would. Said a close friend: "Chisholm is playing a meticulous little game. He's making it quite evident that he still thinks he's a better man than Turner."

Still, senior Liberals acknowledge that if the party wins 30 per cent of the vote in the February, Alta., Sept. 29 by-elections, a rising with strong Tory seats, Turner could instantly silence the murmurs of discontent. And whatever the verdict in Penhold, they conclude that it would be politically damaging to change leaders now. After the 1984 defeat, Liberal planners envisaged an eight-year exile from power to rebuild support across the country. But with the plummeting fortunes of the Tories and support for the Liberals consistently out in front, some analysts contend that the party could regain power in two years. As a result, a leadership review now could be counterproductive.

**Credibility**: In the meantime, Turner is preparing a new parliamentary strategy for the fall. The objective, MacLean's has learned, is to depict the party as a government ready to win the election. His political mentor, Martin Goldfarb, "The Liberals are finding their position to be left of centre," says Turner, "getting comfortable with that." To fight the next campaign, the party is comprising members who are skilled in conducting direct-mail fundraising (page 18). Much of it will be conducted from its spanking new headquarters scheduled to open in Ottawa in November. Turner is also trying to add new policy recipes to the old Liberal mix. An ideas conference is scheduled in May to re-examine the tenets of Liberalism and the issues facing the country.

But many Liberals say that the key to the next election lies in stressing John Turner's personality and magnifying the growing divide about Brian Mulroney's credibility. Already, a campaign strategy is shaping up along the lines of "Loyal Brian" versus "Honest John." Said Edwards: "Brian Mulroney lacks credibility. That is a disastrous, disastrous thing for a government and a political leader."

**MacLean's** Within the party, Turner is known as a decent, honest man. But whether he can win the next election remains in doubt. Says one senior Liberal: "People will appreciate them. 'Maybe there's a chance.' But deep down they really don't think the guy's going to win." Others say Turner is not prepared to hold as his strengths said one: "He should be holding himself like (Robert) Stanfield—staunch, honest and straightforward. But he likes to see himself as a brilliant city规划者, always first in his class, a Rhodes Scholar, a competitor to Brian Mulroney in the 100-yard dash. And he isn't."

—ELIARY MACLEAN'S, in Ottawa

# BEING THERE

MacLean's Ottawa correspondent Eliary MacLean's interviewed Liberal Leader John Turner after a recent speech to Quebec Liberals. Some excerpts:

**MacLean's** It's your second anniversary in opposition. Is there a sense of relief that you used to carry on?

**Turner** No. There's no magic rank. I'll learn the results as soon as everybody else, and I'll make my own judgment. But I am convinced that we will be substantially improved by my leadership.

**MacLean's** The Liberals are up to 11 per cent in the polls. Are you the credit for that? Or is Brian Mulroney?

**Turner** Let's call it a joint effort. I inherited a situation in which we had no single provincial government, only two federal members west of Ottawa, and not one provincial member in Western Canada or the Territories. That has changed.

If we had not made progress, I would be blamed, but perhaps I should take some credit for it. The other side of the coin is that Mr. Mulroney has demonstrated a remarkable lack of direction.

**MacLean's** Is the party of Pierre Trudeau a Liberal party again?

**Turner** I am not going to accept that premise. Mr. Trudeau was and is a Liberal. I am, however, the first leader of the party since Mackenzie King to be truly a party person—managing campaigns, writing speeches, knocking on doors, running the telephone. So my initial task was to restore the party to the grassroots. The party needed a little legging. I have met every one of the 283 riding presidents. In my view there was no substitute for being there.

**MacLean's** Is there any danger of complacency?

**Turner** I have to believe no—otherwise I would not be here. Yes, I am confident that we can win. But I take nothing for granted. I have never been among those Liberals that believe we lose a divine right to govern. We will have to deserve to win—and earn the right to govern.



Turner: party hopping

Liberals are comfortable with me. I intend to spell out in the next few months a vision of the country as I see it.

**MacLean's** Critics have said that you are too conservative and too stiff for the young '80s age. Are you the wrong man for the wrong times?

**Turner** I suffered for having been away a long time, then being thrown immediately into the front rank. It was not just the slogan of being a leader, but a matter of being comfortable with certain goals, the techniques in business to take care of itself.

**MacLean's** You've been accused of being born with a silver spoon in your mouth—like your father, Chairman of politics. But you're considered one of the greatest political revolutionaries in Canadian history. Why have you stuck it out?

**Turner** I returned to politics only because I was convinced that the party needed me and that I could make a contribution. I don't bring about my humble origins the way Mr. Mulroney does. But my mother was a master's daughter, and we used to live in a walk-up apartment. I don't deny I have some fortune, but my beginnings were humble too.

**MacLean's** Are you just trying to prove that you are not a lone?

**Turner** I was unexpectedly given a second chance to serve the country and I take personal satisfaction from that. There are also sacrifices involved—particularly for my family. But the job is worth doing. If I don't do it, how can we persuade competent people to offer themselves for public office? Besides, there's a greater personal challenge.

**MacLean's** Is there any danger of complacency?

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*Ammodramus aurifrons* core roosts in improved abundance in Quebec

In the smoke and noise of a crowded Ottawa union hall, Mr. Broadbent was euphoric—and relieved. It was election night in September, 1964, and the New Democratic leader and his party had not only maintained the seat of Terry Fox, but they had won 36 seats. As the excitement of the moment, Broadbent pledged what he would because "the results" in Parliament were two-thirds with his party at a new optimism polls and poised in Quebec, than a more optimism in NDP ranks. At the midpoint of the second term, Broadbent faced serious difficulties in his struggle to free himself from his personal party status.

# **SEARCH FOR AN OPENING**

-CONT

backbenchers would be rewarded". Still, the NF has made sharp gains in opinion polls conducted since 1984. Shortly before the election, the party was at a record low point—about 11 per cent support. On election day, that increased to 16 per cent, but the Maclean's/Delmas poll showed that 28 per cent of voters would now vote for the NF in an election, compared to 41 per cent for the Conservatives and 35

per cent for the Liberals. And Broadbent's personal approval rating has been consistently higher than either Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's or

**Benefits:** The SNP's standing has also improved dramatically in Quebec, a province where the party has never elected a member of Parliament. A June survey by the Montreal-based independent polling agency put the SNP two points ahead of the Conservatives in Quebec at 39 per cent and just 12 points behind the Liberals. Saskatchewan and the Yukon

Secretary Deere Young conceded that his party had benefited from the others' misfortune, but he added, "We're more interested in trend lines than poll results for any week, and our trend lines are positive."

the national surveys, but the MacIvor poll showed voters were unusually resolute: more than half of non-committed respondents said that they might change their minds from now until election day. Still, the SDP's situation has not been as promising since the mid-1980s, when the party broke through the roughly 11 per cent level of national support and reached about 10 per cent, where it has stayed for nearly 20 years.

Clearly, the SP's battle to be taken seriously as a national party will be won or lost in Quebec. As a result, the party has poured ever-increasing resources into winning support in the politically volatile province. Its chief target is left-of-centre social democratic

who have abandoned the new regrouping Parti Québécois. One notable exception was long-time PQ activist Claude Rongé, who is running for the party in the Sept. 28, St.-Maurice by-election to fill the seat left vacant by Liberal MP Daniel Jean Charron's recent death. Of course, some members, particularly old-timers, remain members of the party in Quebec.

Bob Norton, whose book on the strip will be published this fall, says that the party should not be deceived by its sudden popularity in Quebec. "I don't believe anything about Quebec politics and people have gone into a polling booth on election day and marked their ballots." And there is an additional risk—that the party's traditional support in the West may erode if too much attention is paid to Quebec. Marquette's New Premier Howard Pawley told MacLean's, "Canadians don't want any political party to become overly involved in the issues of one particular province now."

**Critics** A more fundamental difficulty, according to some observers, is whether the left-of-centre policies can ever appeal to more than a small segment of Canadian voters. Other critics question whether social democratic solutions to economic problems, first formulated by the CCF, still apply in the 1980s. Party spokesmen insist that NDP thinking has progressed beyond isolated prescriptions of state-directed manipulation of the economy. Instead of redistributing wealth, the party now acknowledges that excessive policies need encouragement in creating it. But party leaders also note that elections are rarely won or lost over fine points of policy. The critical task, they say, will be to convince Canadians that the NDP is a national party capable of forming a government.

To that end, the NDP caucus will meet this week at Harrison Hot Springs, B.C., to discuss its strategy for the new session of Parliament. The goal: ensuring that the party's historic opportunity for substantive gains will not be lost. Observed Des-  
as Young: "It's an Alice-in-Wonderland situation. The better you do in the polls, the harder you run to stay there and try to get ahead." For web  
of retreat: short-term NDP success in the past, the hope is that this time the party can generate enough momentum to make the next election a genuine three-way fight.

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# **AN NDP SURGE**

Lachlan's Ottawa correspondent Michael Rose interviewed Ed Broadbent in Ottawa just before the NDP leader travelled to Quebec to campaign for Chantal Hebert, the party's candidate in the Sept. 28 Quebec by-election.

*MacLean's*. Immediately after the 1993 election, you pledged to make the NDP "the real opposition in Parliament". How

*NPD popularity on the polo?*  
**causant** It's a combination of factors. In Quebec, we are now getting a lot of voters and activists who were involved in the Parti Québécois, and their main goal was for independence of some kind. At the same time, former Liberals are coming to us. Pierre Trudeau used to be a left-wing Liberal and when he became left that freed a lot of small



iron-clad "messen"

now that for us to make a real breakthrough at the national level seems to require us to make disproportionate efforts to establish the support and working majority in Quebec.

**QUESTION** What do you think has been your greatest major problem?

**ambition.** An absence of ambition is important. A prime minister is not driven by something; he has a sense of purpose about his regime, other than the exercise of power. The symbols things that he believes in may yet try to shape is the defining thing. But he hasn't even been able to remain firm in his resolve about that. He has to survive in anything other than a minority government, which causes some pleasure as nothing new will be things are changed, he has to believe in something that he believes in and he is going to be fighting for. ◇

# RETURN OF A BACKROOM BOY

COVER

"If I am wrong, then the usual penalties of politics will prevail."

**W**hen Dalton Kingsley Camp made that statement—on Sept. 23, 1986—he was the leader of the campaign that, only two months later, led to the overthrow of John Diefenbaker as leader of the Progressive Conservative party. But the words seem equally applicable to Camp's latest assignment

ing—and was a leadership review. Camp later conceded that he was working for party democracy, but his role in Diefenbaker's subsequent downfall earned him the contempt of many Tories.

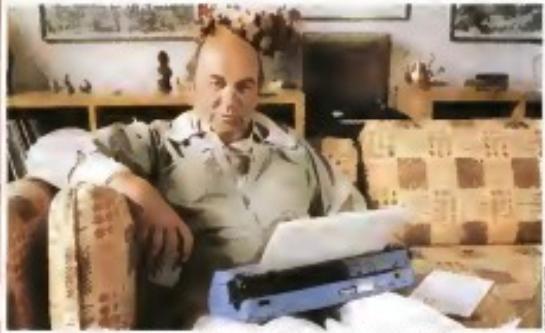
**Struggles.** After failing in 1983 and again in 1986 to win a Toronto seat in the House of Commons, Camp entered a period of voluntary exile in his native New Brunswick. There, he built a journalism career while con-

tinuing to serve as the party's gay ambassador. But one senior Conservative official "The Diefenbaker thing meant Dalton could not play a public role, but he deserved to be paid" is influential with a low profile."

Camp had dallied with Liberal politics during his undergraduate days at the University of New Brunswick. But the urging of Professor Harold Laski, under whom he studied at the London School of Economics, again became involved in politics. But disillusioned with the Liberals, Camp joined the Conservatives. Returning to Canada in 1969, he quickly built a reputation as a shrewd political organizer. In the 1970s he managed eleven campaigns that disposed Liberal governments in four provinces, and in 1983 he took charge of Conservative headquarters for the federal election campaign.

**Calculator.** At 65, Camp is still best known for his role in unseating Diefenbaker. After the Conservative defeat of 1986—their second electoral setback in three years—Camp became the focus for dissatisfaction with The Chief's leadership. Winning re-election as party president, Camp led discussions at the party's 1986 general meet-

—MICHAEL BORRE in Ottawa with  
KEITH HALEY in Fredericton and  
PAUL GERSHON in St. John's



Camp of Northwood, his New Brunswick retreat: Dalton will provide some flesh for the bones.

With his appointment last week as senior adviser to the federal cabinet, the veteran Tory strummed, advertising executive and journalist instantly becomes one of the most powerful figures in Ottawa. He will also inherit much of the blame if his advice fails to improve the standing of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his Conservative government. Emerging from his first cabinet meeting last week, Camp said that he is "just a bureaucrat." But few analysts who have watched his durable, 27-year career in the Tory backrooms accepted his modest assessment.

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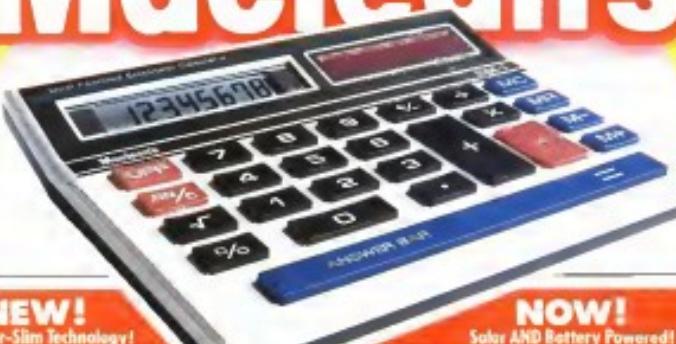
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PM

# STARS ON THE FAR HORIZON

COVER

Across the country, talented politicians of all ideological stripes are just beginning to make their mark on the national, provincial or municipal scenes. Michael's profile eight of these rising stars.



**Paul Martin, Jr.**, Liberal MP

The son of Paul Martin, former cabinet minister under Prime Minister B. Pearson, Martin is president and partner of The GL Group, Montreal-based transportation

company which includes such holdings as Canada Steamship Lines. A ally of Liberal Leader John Turner, Martin is the chief co-ordinator of Quebec candidate recruitment—and a major contributor to the party's struggle to develop more credible social and economic policies. He is widely expected to run in the next election—and, at 48, is considered a potential successor to Turner.



**Eric Moreau**, Saint John, NB, mayor

A veteran member of the Saint John city council, Moreau, 54, became the first female mayor in the city's history when she defeated the incumbent in a landslide victory in 1982. She was again last spring, breaking a 20-year pattern in which incumbents were always defeated. Spirited and charismatic, she tirelessly promotes Saint John as "the greatest little city in the Maritimes"—and she has worked hard to attract corporations and trade missions to revitalise the downtown area. A former secretary and partner in a television repair business, Moreau has never indicated a political preference. Despite that reticence, she is considered a Conservative—and continued as a possible successor to Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield.



**Kim Campbell**, British Columbia Social Credit Party activist

Tough-minded and intelligent, Campbell became executive director of former premier William Bennett's office last year after three terms as attorney general and Vancouver school board chairman. She joined 11 other candidates in the race to replace Bennett last July—and placed last with 14 votes. But she impressed delegates with her courageous attack on current Premier William Vander Zalm. "Because of charisma without substance." As a probable candidate in the next election, Campbell, 39, is a strong contender for a cabinet post.



**Howard McCurdy**, New Democratic Party MP

A former member of the Windsor, Ont., city council, the forceful 34-year-old McCurdy entered the House of Commons in 1981 as the only black MP. Since then, he has embarrassed the government with a succession of disclosures, including last March's revelation that a former minister planned to use government funds to recruit new party members. His passionate and compelling opposition to the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa has won praise across the nation.

Gordon Danks, Saskatchewan Social Services minister

An evangelical Christian, Danks, 39, was an administrator at the Capalou Bible College in Regina when he was elected to the Saskatchewan legislature in 1982. A year later Premier Grant

Davis appointed the staunchly conservative Danks to establish an ombudsman minister. There, Danks masterminded a major overhaul of the welfare system that diverted social assistance dollars to provide training and jobs for welfare recipients. Late last year Davis added the urban affairs ministry, responsible for the Public Service Commission. A passionate opponent of socialism, Danks is seen by many as a possible successor to Davis.



**Gary Goer**, Manitoba Urban Affairs minister

The now-jailed a major victory last winter when it convinced Deer, then president of Manitoba's Government Employees' Association, that, as was in the urban affairs ministry, responsible for the Public Service Commission. A passionate opponent of socialism, Danks is seen by many as a possible successor to Davis.



**Monique Landry**, minister of state for external relations

A former physiotherapist, Landry, 38, was one of 88 Quebec Conservatives swept into Parliament during the 1984 federal election. The rookie MP finished her way around Ottawa as a parliamentary secretary—first to the secretary of state, then to the minister of international trade. Last June the effervescent and dynamic Landry—female champion of her Montreal golf club—joined the Mulroney cabinet as the minister responsible for the Canadian International Development Agency with its \$1-billion foreign aid budget.

**Wayne Chevrolat**, Prince Edward Island Justice minister

As a bright and ambitious student from Charlottetown's centre core, Chevrolat worked his way through university and law school—and then established a successful legal practice. In the provincial election last April the rookie Liberal candidate defeated former premier James Lee in a stunning upset—an achievement that promptly earned him the nickname "The Guru." An intelligent minister with a flair for oratory, Chevrolat, 36, has impressed Islanders with his commitment to protecting and liberties from casual infringement.



Ontario's Peter Lougheed (left) with Alberta's Getty. The rollers are disenchanted

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McLEAN'S/SEPTEMBER 8, 1986 11



CENTER

US tariffs on BC lumber. Said Arthur Goddard, a provincial Liberal candidate: "British Columbia is starting to feel caged and alienated."

Across the Prairies, when are expected both depressed oil and wheat prices—and allegiance to all parties is weakening. In Alberta, Getty was only 31 per cent of the popular vote in last May's election—a paltry figure in that traditionally bastion of Tory support. In Saskatchewan, Premier Grant Devine's Liberals and the NDP are surging past the PCs but one-third of the electorate is undecided. In British Columbia, another province under a Liberal government, the NDP is growing. "The problem is that many people feel that no party represents them,"<sup>7</sup> And recently analysts say that Macrae's predecessor Howard Pawley was no narrow NDP election victory last March an aberration because of the unpopularity of the federal Davis.

**Quebec:** In Ontario and Quebec, the provincial Liberal parties are the strongest; there, too, the electorate remains volatile. A recent Ontario Star survey shows that voters aged 25 to 45 will shift any one of three ways on the political spectrum quite freely. In Quebec, the approval rating of Premier Robert Bourassa has hovered between 53 and 60 per cent since the December 19 election, while the federal Liberals—with 22 per cent support in the Montreal *Democracy* poll—trail the Liberals (41 per cent) and narrowly lead the PQ (21 per cent). Anti-Yukon sentiment is running in the Maritimes as well. In Newfoundland, Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield must face voters before next March—handicapped by both his party's popularity and the province's economic woes. In Nova Scotia, a recent *Chronique Nouvelles* poll shows the opposition Liberals with 44 per cent support, compared to just 30 per cent for Premier John Buchanan's Conservatives. In Prince Edward Island last month, a mood of 52-30 at Charlottetown's annual Gold Cup and Saucer races did not greet federal Conservatives Minister Maxie MacMillan—a native son—with stay silence, thus a resounding 10-10 share for Liberal Premier Joe Ghiz, elected last April.

Newfoundland Premier John Crosbie, re-elected in 1985, seems reasonably secure. But former Tory John Landry has observed: "There is a general cynicism. People are madder than hell at everybody." Added Tom Young, who hosts an environmental radio show in St. John's: "The Mulroney government had a tremendous majority into Ottawa—and it has completely botched it. A Tory worker told me, 'They have forgotten where Newfoundland is.' " Turning up with frequency in voter surveys, views of that nature are a source of concern for all Conservative health.



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# A captain confesses

Shortly after fishermen found 150 Sri Lankan refugees adrift in two lifeboats off the foggy Newfoundland coast last month, an international search was launched for the ship that carried them to the dangerous 4,000-mile voyage from West Germany. Then, reporters began speaking by telephone radio with Wolfgang Bindel, West German captain of the freighter Augus, who may have earned \$470,000 for transporting the Tamil refugees in the hold of his ship. But Bindel denied any involvement in the clandestine voyage and refused to disclose his exact location. Finally, just a week ago from The Toronto Star, the 455-ton, Honduran-registered Ausiliax to the port of La Palma in Spain's Canary Islands. There, Bindel acknowledged that he had ferried the refugees to Canada. The cap-

tain told reporter John Pieno: "That is where they wanted to go. They made the choice." Earlier Bindel told the Star: "I did everything to save the lives of the people."

At the request of the Honduran government, port authorities in La Palma last week seized the Augus. The ship, with Bindel still on board, was under guard by Spanish authorities. Said Honduras Ambassador to Mexico Lopez Villanueva: "We have the evidence to show the Augus took part in this crime and we're not going to permit any ship sailing under our flag to break international law."

In Ottawa, RCMP officials were conducting their own investigation. A spokesman said that the officers will try to establish whether any infrastructure against the criminal immigration ended was compromised.<sup>2</sup> But officials added that charges could only be laid against the captain if they could prove that an offence was committed while the Augus was within Canadian territorial waters or Canadian shores. Even then, it might be impossible to bring Bindel to Canada because transportation offences are not covered in the nation's extradition treaties with West Germany or Spain.

Legal action against Bindel will not affect the refugees themselves, who have been given government permission to stay in Canada for at least one year. By last week about half of the 61 Tamils held with Toronto families had found jobs, mostly in factories, according to Sri Sri-Skanda-Hari, public relations co-ordinator for the city's Kelay Tamil Society. Said Sri-Skanda-Hari: "Without exception every offer has been generous and honest too." In Montreal, the Sri Youth organization opened its emergency food and clothing banks to 61 refugees.

Meanwhile, it was revealed last week that an immigrant group working with Tamil refugees had asked questions about the appointment of Gen Tissa Idrak Wewerasinghe as Sri Lanka's high commissioner to Canada in May. The Tamil of Canada group has alleged that Wewerasinghe commanded an army unit which fought a violent campaign against Tamil rebels in northern Sri Lanka and claimed that Amnesty International had found evidence that torture was used. But External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has responded that the Sri Lankan government denies Wewerasinghe was involved in human rights violations. The rebels want to establish a separate homeland for the Hindu Tamils as a refuge against what they claim as persecution by Sri Lanka's Buddhist Sinhalese majority. And the controversy over the diplomatic appointment renewed the debate over that divisive issue. □

# 'A beautiful deal' indeed

The lawyer stood silently at the green-carpeted headphones on the witness stand. "Are you a fairly tough negotiator when it comes to commercial transactions?" he asked. Aristedo Capela returned the look gave. "I think so," he replied. But David Scott, counsel for the judicial inquiry investigating conflict-of-interest charges against Senator Stevens, clearly disagreed. Last week Scott claimed that the terms of Gupta's \$26-million loan in 1985 to Norine Stevens, wife of the former industry minister, were more generous than "a prudent lender" would have arranged.

According to Scott, the controversial loan included provisions that protected Gupta from gaining any benefit—among them a deferral of interest payments until the second year of the five-year loan. In fact, Scott suggested, Gupta had made the loan at the request of Frank Siemers, chairman of Magna International Inc., the giant Ontario-based auto-parts manufacturer that Capela helped found—and a company that received contracts worth millions of dollars from Stevens' department. Norine Stevens had requested Magna's help in reversing the Stevens' family financial empire. Disclosure of the loan last spring led to the inquiry, chaired by Judge William Parker of the Ontario High Court.

In testimony last week Gupta denied Scott's charge. He declared, "It was a beautiful deal for me." And the Ontario-born businessman also said that, far from seeking political favors from Sinclair Stevens, he did not discover that Norine Stevens was the industry minister's wife until after the loan agreement was completed.

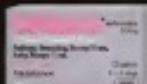
Questioning Capela and James McAlpine, Magna's executive vice-president of finance, Scott noted that Magna's "letter of comfort" to the Bank of Nova Scotia, provided Gupta—with a cushioned loan to the firm—with a \$3-million line of credit, essentially making his 10-per-cent interest loan to Stevens risk-free. The letter said that the loan would facilitate Gupta's real estate acquisitions for Magna, which would assume the debt should Gupta "experience any financial difficulties."<sup>3</sup> Gupta advanced the funds to Stevens nine days after the letter was dated. In fact, Scott noted, before writing a cheque for \$26 million, Gupta had not even run credit checks on Norine Stevens or her companies. □

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Kennedy boyish charm, instantly recognizable features and the legacy of his main tutor and uncle to live up to

WORLD

## All in a Boston family



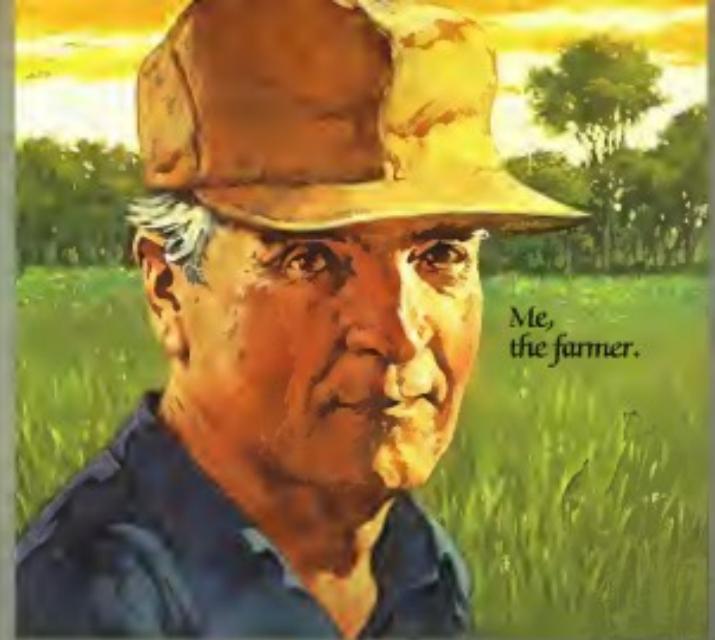
The well-known Kennedy family features were instantly recognizable as the candidate bounded out of a station wagon to greet his supporters. Thirty-three-year-old Joseph Kennedy II, son of assassinated Senator Robert Kennedy and nephew of slain President John F. Kennedy, immediately put his youthful share to work. As a candidate for the Democratic nomination of Massachusetts' Eighth District in the House of Representatives, a seat which will become vacant with the retirement of Thomas (Tip) O'Neill Jr., he approached a group of elderly women and began to exchange pleasantries. The session was a recent clean-up operation organized by his campaign staff at a

run-down park in Boston's working-class Charlestown district. And while Kennedy's wife, Shelly, and sister, Kerry, started cutting weeds, Kennedy jovially addressed each woman as "kids" and cheerfully called them and their ideas "beautiful." The Kennedy image seemed to work. Sud area resident Liam Butler said the early-hardened politician moved out of overkill. "He's a good kid. And they all look alike, don't they?"

But the family connection is a mixed blessing, even in Boston. About five hours later at a United Irish Societies meeting in the city's ethnic suburb of Watertown, Kennedy was the last of nine Catholic candidates to speak on Irish-American issues. Some members of the crowd, who had been making liberal use of the cash bar at the back of the hall, became antagonistic. And al-

though Kennedy was able to deflect most of the interruptions, the situation soured when a man loudly insisted that the candidate's uncle, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, had blocked efforts to reunite Ireland. The would-be Congressman tried a joke. "Do you agree with everything your uncle's ever said?" When the heckler persisted, Kennedy, his voice tinged with anger, finally shot back over a chorus of both jeers and applause. "Listen pal. The fact of the matter is I'm not asking for a single person's vote in this election based on my last name. And the fact is I'm proud of the work my uncle has done."

According to pollsters, Kennedy is the favorite in the area's Sept. 10 primary, which picks the party's candidate for the Nov. 4 midterm congressional election in heavily Democratic Boston, vic-



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farm, my crops and my machines. They're all part of me and being a farmer—is it sweet, and drought, and disease, and depression, and one hundred and one other heartaches that other men may never know or feel. But, I'm still glad to be a farmer.

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tory in the Democratic primary usually amounts to election itself—the party's candidate is almost guaranteed to overwhelm the Republicans' favorite, Clark Abt, in November. But the immediate impact of a Kennedy victory on the U.S. political scene would be relatively minor. In the House, all 35 seats are at stake in November, and the Democrats are expected to emerge from the balloting with much of the 75-seat majority they gained in 1984 intact. The major battle will take place in the 100-seat Senate, where, with 34 seats being contested, the Republicans are fighting to maintain their six-seat majority.

Still, Massachusetts' Eighth District has been an important base for the Democrats in recent years. It has been held since 1962 by the dependable O'Neill, who has also been Speaker of the House for the past 20 years. Over the decades, O'Neill has developed into one of the most powerful Democrats on Capitol Hill and one of President Reagan's few fervent political supporters. Now, Kennedy faces a potential challenge from three of his opponents. One is a political unknown in his own right, James Roosevelt, Jr., grandson of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The others are Massachusetts State Senator George Bushnell and Melvin King, a respected black community leader and runner-up in Boston's 1984 mayoralty

race. In varying degrees, all four main candidates support cuts in military spending, nuclear arms reduction and the expansion of social programs.

The Eighth District encompasses several blue-collar areas of Boston and Cambridge, the neighborhoods around Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Boston's fashionable Beacon Hill and Back Bay neighborhoods. In 1984, its voters cast only 36 percent of their ballots for Reagan, and, in 1972, they supported George McGovern in the Democratic presidential primary. But Kennedy clearly distinguishes his opposition on at least two emotionally charged issues: his desire that houses of his father's association on Hyannis Port be Palmetto, ex-mayor Silvio Berlelli, now a conservative senator in Sacramento, Calif.—he supports the death penalty. Unlike many liberal Democrats, Kennedy also supports military aid to El Salvador. And at a time when Democrats are searching for a new direction, a Kennedy win could be a harbinger of the party's changing face. Said one Bachrach aide: "If they elect Joe, people will say that even a Kennedy



O'Neil firmly opposing the President's policies

has to be a rationale for people not to vote for Joe. And that doesn't exist." Added a longtime observer of Boston politics: "Kennedy is a celebrity and that gives him very strong pull with uneducated, lower-class voters. He looks like he has it wrapped up." A recent Boston television and radio opinion poll showed Kennedy leading Bachrach 38 per cent to 32.

Kennedy's campaign handlers have concentrated on presenting his public service record, sounding as far as possible coverage by the international media. In fact, the Kennedy camp has restricted the scope of foreign television coverage, especially when Kennedy campaigns in more upscale areas. Said campaign press secretary Pamela Hughes: "Joe's international reputation isn't an asset in working-class areas. If the neighborhood barber sees Joe with a Japanese television crew he might think that Joe won't be interested in helping with his social security or some other problem."

At the same time, Kennedy has established his interest in helping the poor. His namesake Citizens Energy Corp., which he founded seven years ago, buys crude oil in bulk, refines it and provides heating oil to the underprivileged at 20 to 40 per cent below market price. It pays for the operation by selling gasoline and other byproducts of the refining process to commercial customers. (An

Oscars branch collects and sells donations of heating oil fees otherwise reverting their furnace to natural gas. It uses the proceeds for youth programs.) Recently, the corporation has expanded to include residential electricity and a prescription drug plan. Said Goldman: "I don't think people would consider voting for him if he had a Kennedy name and had not started Citizens Energy." Some political opponents also note that Citizens Energy, although admitted Boston until Kennedy received them upon entering the primary race, they are "still not Bostonians just yet in the cold, Polar Joe Kennedy."

Bachrach says that, if he wins the race, "the headline will read: 'Kennedy loses.'" A former prosecuting lawyer who grew up near New York City, Bachrach is stressing a cumulative legislative style and "unashamed liberalism" in his campaign. "We're not one of those people who thinks it is outrageous that Joe's running," Bachrach recently told a small fund-raising crowd. "But we come from different backgrounds and different experiences. Some of them are fundamental differences." He added in an interview. "To some degree I have the legacy of Robert Kennedy and Joe doesn't fit terms of substance and activism."

Kennedy supporters dispute Bachrach's claims to stronger political commitment, but they do acknowledge—off

the record—that Kennedy is less inclined than his male opponent. For one thing, Kennedy had an unimpressive school career. Having dropped out of high school, he later attended intermittently till, the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Massachusetts at Boston before obtaining a Legal Education at Harvard College. And in 1972 he acquired a license for motorcycle racing, in case he was driving over turned in Natickster, leaving one of six passengers partially paralyzed.

Kennedy, 32, is also detecting as a candidate in the current national campaign. She is running for the House in Maryland. Townsend served at Radcliffe and the University of New Mexico law school. As well, she has worked with homeless people in New York and Navajo Indians in the western desert. Townsend will likely win her Democratic primary, but she will then face a tough battle against Republican incumbent Helen Bentley Stull, the two new Kennedys on the political stage share a common problem: comparisons with their famous relatives. With both Robert and John Kennedy widely revered in the pantheon of American political leaders, Kathleen and Joseph have a daunting record—and myth—to live up to.

—IAN MINTON/Boston

# Lake Nios's angry cloud of death



**Delivering relief** President Biya (bottom) greets "destroying nothing but killing all life."

The explosion took place at about 9:30 p.m. in the village of Sebloun in the west African nation of Cameroon. Chou David Wambang had a sudden weird feeling. "I felt like I was drunk," recalled Wambang. "The smell was like cooking with kitchen gas." Coughing badly and paralyzed on one side of his body, Wambang crawled out of his house to find his family sprawled on the ground. "I saw water streaming and falling down," he said. "Some people were vomiting blood." Many people ran to try to escape the cloud of toxic gases that had erupted from a supposedly extinct volcano under Lake Nios, 400 km northwest of the Cameroonian capital, Yaoundé. Others tore off their clothes in reaction to the intense heat. Still others simply suffocated in their sleep.

As rescue workers pored into the remote mountainous region last week, they came upon an eerie valley of death encompassing 10 square miles and four villages. Rev. Fred Tert Hora, a Roman Catholic missionary from Holland who was one of the first outsiders to arrive at the scene, said that in one hamlet he saw hundreds of dead people and cattle. "It was as if a nuclear bomb had exploded," he said. "Destroying nothing but killing all

life." Wind and rain helped to disperse the gases, but Cameroonian soldiers covered their faces with gas masks or bandanas as they hurriedly sheathed victims into shallow mass graves, an attempt to keep decomposing bodies from causing an epidemic. By week's end the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization in Geneva reported that 1,796 people had been killed and 631 hospitalized in what some experts called the worst underwater gas eruption ever.

The exact cause of the explosion was not known. Nur was able to determine precisely what gas or combination of gases, which can accumulate in lake bed sediments over many years, was the killer—although carbon dioxide seemed to be the prime suspect. France and the

United States dispatched scientists to the area to study the rare geological occurrence. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who visited Yaoundé early last week on a previously planned mission to restore diplomatic relations between

France and Cameroon, brought a 17-member medical team to aid victims of the disaster. Several countries, working through the United Nations, responded to Cameroon's appeal for blankets, tents and food for the estimated 3,000 people left homeless. And Ottawa contributed \$70,000 to the relief effort.

The eruption actually occurred on Aug. 21. But it was not until the following afternoon that the first reports—from villages with no telephones—reached the government of Cameroon, a nation of 20 million people formed in 1961 from territories once controlled by France and Britain. The messenger was a government employee who was riding his motorcycle to the village of Nias from the town of Wuri, about eight kilometers away. Spotting dead animals as well as dead people and feeling dizzy himself—he travelled back to Wuri and alerted authorities. Two days later, President Paul Biya visited the region and declared it a disaster area.

In Nias, population 1,200, only four people were known to have survived. Elsewhere, Kenneth Priole, an Edmonton native working as a Baptist missionary in Wuri, said that he travelled to Sebloun on Monday and found that more than half the Baptist congregation of 200 had been killed. Even after most of the human remains had been buried, hundreds of cattle were still lying dead and bleated on grassy hills. "The cows have no relatives," said Lt.-Gen. James Taito, who was in charge of the disaster area. "Their burial will be the last." The lethal gases also killed much of the area's vegetation, including coffee and banana plants. And volcanic material turned Lake Nios a reddish red, a stark change from the brilliant blue

area. "Their burial will be the last." The lethal gases also killed much of the area's vegetation, including coffee and banana plants. And volcanic material turned Lake Nias a reddish red, a stark change from the brilliant blue



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that led local residents to nickname it "The Good Lake."

Cruel as it was, the day the Good Lake turned bad was not the first time an underwater eruption had occurred in Cameroon. On Aug. 15, 1984, gases spewed from beneath Lake Manoun, just 30 km from Lake Nyos, on the same chain of volcanic mountains, killing 37 people. After studying that incident, a U.S. scientific team said that it may have been caused by a landslide or small earth tremor, and that the primary gas was carbon dioxide, which suffocates victims by displacing vital oxygen in the air.

Last week saw U.S. experts, acting

to restore relations between Cameroon and Israel, visit Cameroon to assess the damage to its infrastructure after Israel's occupation of the Sinai peninsula during the 1973 Yom Kippur War with Egypt. Since Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt in 1982, four of those nations—Sudan, Liberia and the Ivory Coast were the first three—have now restored relations. And Peres said that "another two to four black African countries are willing in the wings." One obstacle to the diplomatic gains is Israel's image in Africa as an economic spoiler of the south African regime. But Peres joined Raya last week



Lake Nyos, site of the volcanic explosion, the day the Good Lake turned bad

that seismic activity had been reported in the area recently, and that a landslide or minor earthquake might also have triggered the Lake Nyos eruption. Others said that volcanic magma, as molten rock, might have heated the water and stirred up the gas-filled sediments. The Cameron government at first announced that the killer gas was hydrogen sulfide, which gives off the rotten-egg smell that many survivors reported smelling. High concentrations of hydrogen sulfide can kill by paralyzing the breathing process. But members of the French scientific team and the Israeli medical team said that the Cameroonian may have been killed by a combination of carbon dioxide and hydrogen sulfide. And Dr. York Hamblin, a volcanologist with the Geological Survey of Canada in Victoria, said he suspected that carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide—which is common in the Cameroonian shafts—"are the two most important agents."

The Lake Nyos catastrophe overshadowed Peres' 28-hour visit to Yaoundé, where Raya officially agreed

in sharply denouncing what he described as Pretoria's "seizure" of apartheid. Cameroonian officials are now expected to make major purchases of Israeli fighter planes and communications equipment.

But most of their immediate attention is focused on the Lake Nyos disaster. Last week some survivors began returning to the area, despite government warnings that food and water there are still contaminated. "We cannot keep people away," said Gen. Tatas. "The villages want to guard their property." Bill, worried Eric Haugland, co-ordinator of the US relief effort. "Could it happen again, and how soon?" For the survivors of the Lake Nyos eruption, many of them scientists who believe that spirits occupy such natural phenomena as volcanoes, the hope is that the volcano god will never grow angry again.

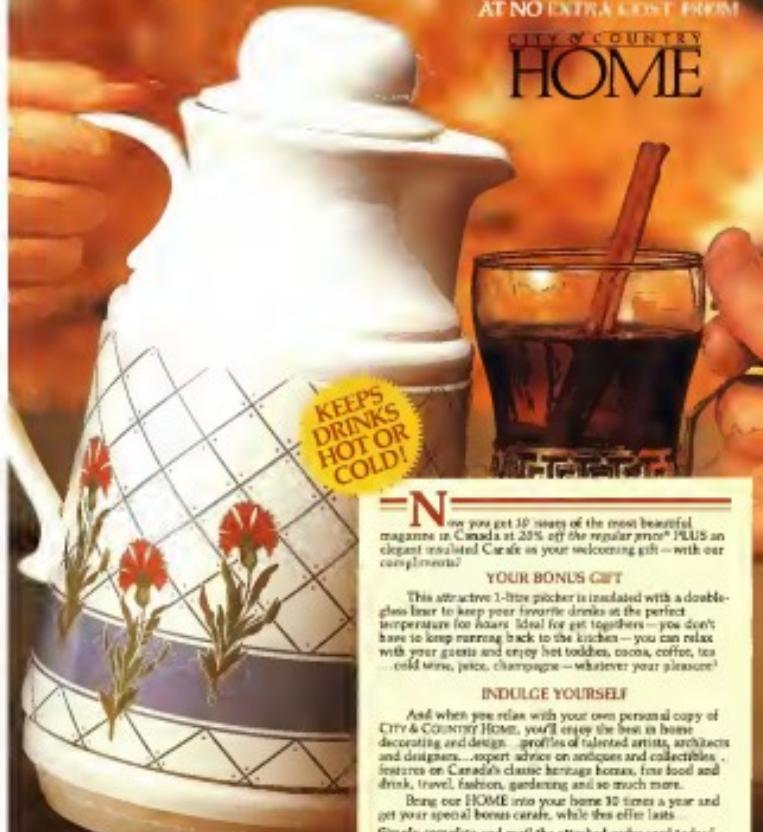
—BOB LEVINE with LYNN DODD in Yaoundé, DAVID HESSEKELIN in Amsterdam and JULIET MARKENSTEIN in Ottawa

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named the \$104-million factory in 1984, said that it will be producing 300,000 units of its new Prandler model annually by 1989. The plant will provide 3,000 direct jobs. As a result, Brampton Mayor Kenneth Williams says the city's population—currently 180,000—will increase by up to 25,000. And AMCI will pay "well over \$1 million a year in taxes," Williams added.

Still, the prospect of sweeping changes brought in by such large investments has divided residents in a subdivision located directly across from the proposed Brampton factory,

people complained about the likely increase in noise and traffic congestion. About 200 homeowners formed the North East Action Committee to prevent the plant from locating in their neighborhood. Vera Ieris, a 34-year-old mother of three, who served as the group's executive committee, said that some members of the executive received abusive phone calls in the middle of the night from strangers who resented Ieris' group for obstructing the banner of progress. And at a public meeting in late 1984, she said, there "was a lot of shouting

and belligerence from workers who said, 'They close you guys down, we need the jobs,'" declared Ieris. "I would not want to go through that again."

Many of the 4,000 spin-off jobs expected to be created by AMCI's multi-million-dollar investment will go to surrounding communities. VDO Instruments Ltd., the Canadian subsidiary of West German group Robert Bosch AG, for one, was a contractor to supply AMCI's Brampton plant with instrument clusters for car dashboards. As a result, the company is building its first Canadian manufacturing plant—producing at least 150 jobs—in Barrie, Ont., 25 km from Brampton. And AMCI itself is building a \$10-million satellite plant that will employ 500 workers in Guelph, Ont., to supply its Brampton operation with such items as mounted instrument panels.

When it becomes public that the car industry is moving in, towns typically experience a sudden rise in housing prices. Last December Japan's Toyota Motor Corp., the world's second-longest auto manufacturer, said that it would build its first manufacturing plant in Canada in Cambridge, Ont., located 70 km northeast of Toronto. The \$600-million factory, which will assemble 50,000 passenger cars a year starting in late 1988, will provide 1,000 direct jobs. According to a quarterly house price survey by Toronto-based realtor Royal LePage Real Estate Services Ltd., the price of a detached, three-bedroom bungalow in Cambridge was \$92,500 last July, up 20 per cent from a year ago. The Cambridge price increase is attributed to the Toyota plant. "That's what people on the street are telling me," said Bernard Vago, divisional manager of Western Ontario for Royal LePage.

Auto investment can also breathe new life into towns threatened by industry closures. Last week two companies, Mackham, Ont.-based auto parts giant Migeus International Inc. and Lennox International of West Germany, said that they would build a joint venture wheel manufacturing plant in Collingwood, Ont., located on the southern tip of Georgian Bay. The \$6-million plant, which will receive an \$11-million loan from the Ontario government, will provide 300 jobs by 1989. The announcement came only days after the town's 13,000 residents learned that Canadian Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd., Collingwood's century-old shipyard, would close on Sept. 30. Only 50 employees were still working at the yard after 700 were laid off since last May.

Despite the job-creating impact of the surge in foreign auto dollars, some industry executives say that the Japa-

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Asian and Korean producers should be forced to adhere to the Canada-U.S. auto pact. They say that efficient Japanese car producers pose a threat to domestic manufacturers—who have to meet stringent auto pact requirements. Under the 21-year-old agreement, Detroit's big four automakers—GM, Ford Motor Co., GM and Chrysler Corp.—can send cars, trucks and parts across the Canada-U.S. border duty-free if the imported materials' level of Canadian content equals to 60 per cent of value. They must also build a number of vehicles in Canada roughly equal in value to their sales there.

The situation in Taiwan, Harold Puffing, president of Ford, charged that Canadian importers' incentives to Asien car manufacturers would give them the opportunity to ship their vehicles straight into the United States. Said Puffing: "This is additional capacity in the North American market, and you sure aren't going to see them [those cars] all in Canada." Other industry observers say that the Asian producers, who have for the most part lost their commitments to meet the Canadian content rules, are the most likely to survive an excess-capacity crisis. Said Samuel Glodin, research director for the car: "In the long term, we will lose jobs unless we enforce the principle that the people taking over the market have Canadian content."

Under the terms of the old-Suzuki auto pact, the plant is expected to meet auto pact requirements within two years of production. That marks the first time that an Asian producer has made a definitive commitment to meet Canadian content and other auto pact requirements, noted Glodin. Japan's Honda Motor Co. Ltd., which is building a \$200-million car assembly plant in Alliston, Ont., 60 km northwest of Toronto, has said that the 30,000 Honda Accord and Civic models produced there annually by 1989 will contain only 30 per cent Canadian components. Ralph Luster, vice-president for Honda's automotive division said that the company was working toward achieving Canadian content requirements, but had not set a date to achieve that goal. Toyota officials have said that they would try to qualify their Cambridge plant under the auto pact by the end of the decade.

But last week the continuing clash between domestic and Asian car makers reached from public view. As industry, government and labor leaders appealed to Japanese vice-foreign minister, Taro Nakai, to toast the car-�old alliance, the emphasis was clearly on celebration.

—MICHAEL SALTER AND TERESA TEDESCO

## BUSINESS WATCH

# Governor Bouey's heir apparent

By Peter C. Newman

**T**he leading candidates to succeed Gerald Bouey as governor of the Bank of Canada are as elusive, wry-minded, Montreal money managers named Michel Bélanger. Bélanger will retire on January 31, 1987.

When I asked Bélanger, 64, about seeking such a role, the chairman and chief executive officer of Montreal's National Bank of Canada replied: "If that possibility were to keep being mentioned until I am very old, I could be very happy. I don't think it will materialize, but I would be pleased if it keeps being repeated forever."

That reply, both evasive and gracious, is right in character for a professional operator who has spent all of his career being either a bureaucrat or a banker. What makes Bélanger such an obvious choice for the central bank governorship is his record of performance in both spheres. A graduate of McGill and McGill universities, he joined the federal department of finance as a 25-year-old economist in 1964 and after six years moved to Quebec City where he rose quickly through the departmental hierarchy eventually to become deputy minister of industry and commerce. Following a brief stint as head of the Montreal Exchange, he assumed direction of the ailing Provincial Bank of Canada and eventually negotiated a merger with the Banque Canadienne Nationale.

That meant reducing staff by 25 per cent and closing an eventual 380 branches—difficult assignments, particularly since Bélanger was also faced at the time with a critical capital shortage, incompatible computer systems and massive financial overexposure in South America. As recently as 1988, Bélanger's bank was in a lousy position. But since 1984, it has been moving toward the top in terms of profitability among major Canadian banks. The National Bank of Canada now ranks second only to the Toronto-Dominion Bank in terms of the highest equity-to-assets ratio. The National's return on assets for 1988 was 22 per cent higher than the average for Canada's five banks, with total assets now at \$17 billion—up \$7 billion in the past 18 months.

What all this means is that it is no longer normal to describe Canada's banking system as being dominated by the Big Five. From now on, it's the Big Six. "None of our guys don't really care

whether it's the Big Five or Six," says Bélanger. "But it is fair to say some analysts starting to use the term—even if I'm not ready sure that it's a good thing. Sometimes there is an advantage to being able to choose whether you're big or small."

The National's real problem is that it barely qualifies as a national bank, because 22 per cent of its Canadian assets (and 72 per cent of its total loan volume) are still in Quebec. Bélanger has

been in power twice. The 800-employee takeover, negotiated in a record four days, added assets of \$3.5 billion, doubled National's operating base in the United States and expanded its activity in the commercial loan field.

Bélanger's most refreshing quality is his absence of snoot. Take his view of the federal deficit. "It's not a matter of principle," he says. "It's just that when we have both hands tied behind our backs because we are having to spend too much on servicing our debt, we have no flexibility and we can't react to changing situations."

He believes strongly in free trade with the United States and can't understand why some people assume it's being foisted upon us by the Americans. "You have to keep wondering what the alternatives are. If people are not afraid of losing on as we are, I have great difficulty understanding that," he says.

While he is very bullish on Quebec's economic future, he believes it is far too early to write off Quebec separation. "It is only the belief that separation is inevitable which is dead," he warns. "There are still people who believe that it's desirable, are working for it and dressing about it." Bélanger is happy with the Bourassa style of government but isn't convinced that his administration will be able to resolve the province's long-term problems.

He doesn't believe that Quebec voters have turned against Brian Mulroney, because he feels that they were never that firmly in his camp in the first place, with the 1984 sweep being based mainly on a drive and temporary coalition of disaffected Liberals and Parti Québécois loyalists.

Michel Bélanger runs a good bank and his view of the world would certainly come in handy as a defense play if he were in the governor's chair at the Bank of Canada. Here is the National Bank chairman as the Third World debt problem: "Every second summer the newspapers get full of Mexico again and talk about its downward pressure on bank stocks. By the fall, people forget Mexico, and we are again. I should speak of those things more seriously because these are serious problems. But there is a less serious point to it, too, because if you look at it long enough, you might see it through."

Now if that doesn't sound like a very solid comfort letter from a central banker, I don't know what does.



Bélanger, a wry-minded money manager

been attempting to spread the branch network into Ontario (where nine new branches are due to be opened in the next 18 months) and to build up representation in Western Canada, but as yet the National is particularly reticent about the bank wasn't big in Alberta when all the energy boom was being made.

The main reason for National's rapid recent growth was its absorption, last fall, of the Merchants Bank, then being fatally impaired by the collapse of



# Eleven years of hell

On May 28, 1971, a 17-year-old blank youth, Alexander (Smiley) Scale, was shot to death on a park in Sydney, N.S. Seven days later police arrested his friend, Donald (Junior) Marshall, a 16-year-old Mi'kmaq Indian who had had some minor brushes with the law. On Nov. 8, 1971, Marshall was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison. But he was innocent, and 11 years later he was released. The real killer, Roy Newman Elsley, 38, an unrepentant ne'er-do-well at the time of the slaying, is a compelling new book. Ottawa-based journalist Michael Morris, formerly of *New South*, chronicles Marshall's arduous road of pain. That road, coupled with his gradual evolution into one of Canada's toughest convicts, earned him the respect of prison authorities, particularly *le maximum-security* Dorchester Penitentiary in New Brunswick.

**V**eiled from the bottom of the hill which it commands, Dorchester Penitentiary is almost far enough away for its grimy utilitarian purpose to escape notice. From the first grand-por at the bottom of the long driveway leading to the summit, the blackened three-feet-thick walls appear reassuringly impenetrable, vaguely reminiscent of an ancient uni-

Copyright © 2014 by Michael Morris, excerpted from *Justice Denied*. The late author Donald Marshall, published by Macmillan of Canada.



Marshall at home. Dorchester (below). He asked me again if I killed Smiley

versity or an old fortress. Even the mildest of barbed wire atop the walls surrounding the yard took definite and indelible form in distance. You can the naked eye pick out the armed guards in the watchtowers who easily survey the prison's 470 inmates, as well as every prison-bound vehicle from the moment it turns off the main road into Dorchester's very private driveway.

But the maximum-security prison,

constantly survey the prison's 470 inmates, as well as every prison-bound vehicle from the moment it turns off the main road into Dorchester's very private driveway.

But the maximum-security prison,

the silent in the Canadian penal system, quickly announces its true nature as you draw near to its impenetrable walls. The harsh wire, strung in looping loops wider than the reach of any man, beats with noise-sharp metal teeth. Armed guards, sometimes trailing with dogs, patrol the perimeter outside the walls.

Inside the cell block of the 15-acre institution, Dorchester lives up to its S-E security rating, the highest in the Canadian prison system with the exception of so-called "special handling units" that segregate extremely dangerous prisoners from the general inmate population. Prisoners spend from 30 to 22 hours a day in their 60-square-foot cells, where they eat, sleep and, during recreational periods, visit each other's "bunks." Their five-hour work day accounts for most of the time they spend out of their cells. Five times a day, beginning with the 6:30 a.m. public-address-system announcement, inmates jokingly refer to as their "wake-up call" and ending at 11 p.m. when the prison is locked down, the population is serenely scattered. No one moves from one location to another without a pass, and the three "feedings" per day take place in shifts to reduce the number of prisoners moving through the institution at any given time.

Each day passes like a record stack at the same greaser shower, breakfast, work, lunch, work, supper, recreation and lockdown, a hypnotic pattern that both dulls and strips out the texture of daily life. Junior Marshall was sent to Dorchester on June 28, 1972. The arrival of the tortured murderer from Sydney, accompanied by a single guard, had been careful; if accidentally noticed, no evidence of discovery was placed on file. When he walked through the prison's enormous front doors to begin serving his life sentence, the young Indian was met by his induction officer, Dorchester's newest inmate, Number 1367, was 18.

On his last night in county jail, Marshall had been given the whole visiting room so that his family and friends could pay a final call before the youth departed for the federal penitentiary and another prison. It was a sombre affair, despite the unusual effort to chase up the disengaged and frightened

and prisoner. "My father told me MacRae had an appeal going and that maybe, with what John Frates said about his story not being true, I would be out before too long. He asked me again if I killed Smiley, and I told him no. He said never to forget that, and my mother were behind me all the way."

Even though everyone assured him that he would walk, the young prisoner knew better. None of them, least of all his parents, had the money to cover regularly to New Brunswick. There would be no more daily visits to break the monotony of drug time, no more feed baskets, no more wrestling matches with cousins thrown into jail on lesser charges. It was, he knew, a kind of goodbye.

But there was another requirement for getting out of Dorchester that turned his life in prison into a double hell: the admission of guilt for whatever crime had landed him behind bars. Without that admission, the prison officials who regulated every phase of his life had absolute power to keep inmate 1367 in maximum security.

According to his first prison assessment, Junior Marshall was a co-operative inmate who grew defensive and



Marshall under arrest (TOP); A deer's head torso, grass, flowers, skull and crossbones'

By the time his initial interviews were complete, his entire history was a checkered sprawl of the ordinary man he now passed into the care of the warden of Dorchester Penitentiary, Donald Marshall Jr., a Mi'kmaq Indian and Roman Catholic, about 5 feet, one-inch, 185 lbs, brown eyes, dark brown hair, a deer's head tattoo with the name "Bull" on left upper arm, green, swirl and flower on forearm, small and extremely tight upper lip, slender, "dear," "Mow," right forearm." The other tattoo, unfortunately applied by a fellow Mi'kmaq and practitioner, "I hate cops" had already faded away.

As a life in maximum-security inmates, Junior Marshall had no mandatory parole date, as inmates with

homicide only when describing his offence to the correctional secretary of his case written in July, 1972, the infamous training officer at Dorchester, Edward Madell, described him as "the typical Indian but that seems to have reflected of his name while reflecting in intoxicating liquor. Apparently he enjoys a good fight, while intoxicated. He refused to admit that liquor is a problem or that it was first becoming a problem."

Madell further noted that the shy and nervous youth did not seem to have accepted the sentence of the court and suggested "that inmate Marshall be retained in our maximum-security institution for the time being, or at least until such a time as he is prepared to accept his lengthy sentence." The re-



daction officer also recorded a fact that many prison authorities would be writing about over the coming years: "The most glaring to be innocent of the present charge."

As that first summer in Dorchester slipped away, Justice Marshall received some bad news. After initially reserving its decision, the Nova Scotia Supreme Court dismissed his appeal on Sept. 8. Years later, Mac Rossenbaum, who had prosecuted the appeal, could leave no doubt about what, in his opinion, would have happened had he been aware of the 1981 re-enactment of the Seals murder by the actor and Jeremy MacNeil's startling new information about Roy Ebsary's role in it before he made his arguments in front of the Appeal Court. "If I'd known about what was discussed in the re-enactment, that boy would have been out of Dorchester after those first six months."

A day before Marshall's 16th birthday, Sydney's chief of police, Gordon MacLeod, forwarded a report on Justice Marshall to the National Parole Service. It released the Marshall case to four new paroles, offering John Peckin's evidence against Marshall without reference to his dramatic confession on the night of the murder or his eleventh-hour attempt to change his story. It also stated that is with-

nessing the stabbing, Margaret Chant "knew both the deceased and the accused," even though he had in fact testified that he was neither of the two at the time he allegedly witnessed the stabbing. The report made no reference to the 1975 RCMP investigation or to Jimmy MacNeil's sensational claims.

Toward the end of 1974, Justice Marshall had had enough of Dorchester Penitentiary. The death of the Newfoundlander, the first prison murder he had experienced, had frightened him. In addition to his new confirmation with Jimmy H., he had also seen the results of a number of terrible beatings, generally administered with weight belts. He decided to tell his classification officer what all the inmates were desperately wanted to hear: that he had killed Sandy Seal. "Maybe then he would get his long-overdue transfer to the medium-security prison at Springfield."

"I remember the guy telling me I'd never get out of prison if I kept up my story about being innocent. So I gave 'em a bullet-proof story about it and the f---ers believed it," James later explained. "When I was trying to tell them the truth about Sandy's murder, they didn't believe it. But I had to get out of Dorchester. It was too f---in' dangerous, too depressing."

The plan worked. A transfer warrant was signed by prison authorities on Oct. 21, and the 30-year-old prisoner arrived at Springfield four days later.

But Marshall's freedom and half-prisoner contract in mind and, after a few days of fights, the inmates returned home to Dorchester where he arrived on Halloween night, Oct. 31, to spend the rest of his sentence.

"F--- you trait!" James quipped to the guard as he passed through the scalding doors of Dorchester. The guard, remembering Marshall as a model prisoner from his early Dorchester days, informed the new arrival that a guard had been killed a few days before and that the prison was still in an uproar. "You packed a fine line to come back to us, Justice. I don't think we ever got a room fit for you."

"Why don't you just send me home then, just send me home, okay?" he joked.

But the joking abruptly stopped when he got outside. The guard's death and the chaos it ushered in were all James heard about for the next two weeks. He was told that the three inmates had not, in fact, surrendered their hostage and set his body ablaze, as was first reported, but that he was killed accidentally when another guard blindly fired his shotgun through a plywood partition after hearing his



Murderer Ebsary, the vegetable cutter washed blood off the knife in the night

colleagues call out for help. Fire had already been burning in that corridor, and the guard's corpse had simply fallen into the flames.

Prisoners who had been in the hole at the time told stories of how the three inmates who had taken hostages to force their transfer to another institution were savagely beaten after their capture. "The boys that were in the

hole seen it and they told us about it when they came out," Marshall said.

They said, 'You wouldn't f--- us down in the hole, then you can get fire. They had one guy. He was locked out 12 hours and when they were still beating him. And we were told, 'Boys, about it, leave the room alone!'

Inmates in the general population

later request a move to the U.S.A. (why because of the raccoon noise) told stories of what happened after the evening riot and lockdown were over. "They told me the guards opened their doors, search them, and tear their room apart, you know. You're walking out the door, somebody grabs you by the hair and just sprays f---in' mace in your face."

Asprrophical or not, the stories were circulated as gospel, ushering in a period of high tension between inmates and grieving guards. Six weeks after his transfer from Springfield, James incurred his only "serious" offence report in Dorchester. A jar of honey he was eating as part of his jogging program was found in his cell and seized by guards as "unauthorized." Incomes 1987 said that he had not realized honey was contraband and was let off with a warning. He later learned the guards were concerned that the honey would end up as an ingredient in someone's home brew.

After putting in more than six months of officer-free time, James received his final classification officer, Margaret MacWilliams, for transfer back to Springfield. He told her he wanted the transfer in order to get his planning certificate and possibly win day parole to the Correction Centre in Halifax, a halfway

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McLaren September 1988 53

house for convicts en route between prison and the street.

The request led to a major case conference on June 23, 1981, at Sprigfield, attended by six institutional personnel who had previously dealt with Marshall and his two new caseworkers, MacWilliam and Blood Hody. Junior's former caseworkers at Springfield made it "absolutely clear" that they didn't want the troublesome inmate back at the institution. "In particular," wrote Hody, "they suggested that he should spend more time in Dorsester and demonstrate his ability to remain free of drug use.... Most particularly, Mr. Marshall must deal with the 'under-side' side, including the details of the very unpleasant transfer. He must admit the crime if he did it."

When he got the results of the case meeting, inmate 13067 calmly responded by trying to confirm to what his former caseworkers at Springfield said he would have to do if he were ever to get back to that institution or win his parole. It was no more than an elaborate show, but Junior had come to the conclusion that it was the only way he would ever be let out of prison. "It was the same game I played at Dorsester to get out of the f----er place and get to Springfield. They wanted to hear I did it, so I told them. When I got what I wanted, I took it back. These guys would never listen to the truth."

But suddenly, with the ball in mad-court between the desperate prisoner and the bureaucracy that held him in its paper spider web, the universe was turned upside down. By an incredible coincidence, he learned the name of the man who had murdered Sandy Seal.

The vast Junior Marshall would never forget began burning brightly enough as the afternoon of August 26, 1981. His girlfriend, Shelly Sarsen, who had hitchhiked the roads of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick winter and summer to visit him since their chance meeting in 1976, appeared at Dorsester with her brother, Mitchell. The conversation was going along aimlessly enough until Mitchell suddenly asked Junior a question:

"Do you know a guy named Ray Ebsary?"

"I don't know him," Junior replied. "He knows you pretty good," Sarsen said.

"Yeah? I can't place the name." "Well," he said, "he told me I killed a black guy and stabbed an Indian in the park in 1973."

A rush more powerful than any induced by the drugs he had taken over the last 16 years surged over him. "An old man?" he asked, half afraid of Sarsen's reply.

"Yeah, an old guy," Sarsen said,

adding that he had lived in Ebsary's house on Fairmount Street in Sydney. "Giant, white hair?"

"Yeah, and he's crazy, too," Mitchell volunteered.

"You gonna back me up on that?" Junior asked.

"I get to think about it," the young man said.

"You think about it good," Junior told him.

The moment his visitors had gone, Junior raced to a telephone and

dialed the number of his lawyer.

"I'm sorry, Mr. MacWilliam,"

the operator said.

"I'm sorry, Mr. MacWilliam,"

the operator

**N**ext month Daniel Reebie, former cohost and producer of Toronto's CTV's popular pop-cast show *The Newshub*, will join CBC-TV's *The Journal*. "It was time for a change," said Reebie, 29. "Good rock 'n' roll is genetically young, so I was starting to lose my edge." But Reebie says that he wants to bring "a sense of history of pop music" to his new afternoon show, and added that he had to choose between interviewing his father, writer *Mosheh Rabin*, and the rock group *Chiclete Beanie From Mat* (the "chicken-lion" act). "I have any chance in his over-brain," Reebie said. "I may wear T-shirt with political statements on them, but I'm not about to go to Barbara Frum's hairdresser."

**W**hat does apparently comes down under is *Helen Watson*, a 26-year-old transcendental meditation (TM) teacher from Willard, Ont. Watson is a proponent of pole dancing, an activity which apparently allows gravity participants to lift the air from a cross-legged seated position, thus progress to hovering and eventually to free flight. Watson says that pole flying occurs when an advanced TM technique is used. "The technique eliminates greater use of the brain and left-right takes place at the moment of maximum coherence." This summer Watson won a gold medal at the first international pole dancing competition in Washington, D.C., with a leap of 24½ inches.



Tanner 'Her art drops off like sand'  
describe a series of abortions that she had while she was married. She told the newspaper: "I think I'll tell later how many and why, but that could spoil what people think of me."

**L**east week actor and playwright **Ben Harrow** celebrated his 50th anniversary in show business by performing the lead role in a production of *Miss貂子* at the King's Playhouse in Georgetown, P.E.I. Although Harrow, 62, is best known for his characterization of bungling philosopher Charlie Paraphrase and ornate Venetian Rose-dale, he has played an impressive var-

and later in New Delhi to beat his own record with a leap of 28½ inches. Watson says that he expects to be flying within a few months.

**T**he cover of 46-year-old rock star **Tina Tanner's** new autobiography, *I, Tina*, says that it was written "with"

**K**urt Loder, a senior editor with Rolling Stone magazine. But Loder says that it is his work, the result of 14 months of interviews. Loder, who describes Tanner as a person who "just seems to drag off her life," declared: "She is the author of her life. I just wrote the book." The book includes descriptions of future husband **Tommy**'s secret amazement and a suicide attempt on her part. But last week in an interview with *CBS Sunday*, Tanner said that she did not

regret her decision to leave him. "I have any chance in his over-brain," Reebie said. "I may wear T-shirt with political statements on them, but I'm not about to go to Barbara Frum's hairdresser."



Watson 'Her art drops off like sand'

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-Edited by NANCY HAFNER

ety of straight roles in films and on stage. Said Harrow: "It's great fun to live this way—although sometimes I used to wonder who I was because I was always playing someone else." In Ap-



Harrow one half of an Old Couple

peal, Harrow plays a priest who befriends a young deacon—and he says that although he has played many clerics during his career he finds this role particularly exhilarating. Said Harrow: "The two priests are sort of the Old Couple with dollars on backboards."

**H**is memory spans more than 40 years in Canadian journalism, including an eight-year stint as managing editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. But because **William Metcalfe**, 50, could not interest major book publishers in his manuscript, he had to publish *A View From Thirty Years!* But current sales are brisk, helped along by gory details about what Metcalfe describes as the "amazing misadventures" of his late boss, *Free Press* owner **Victor Setton**. Said Metcalfe: "I only have to sell 20 more copies and I'll break even."

**I**n a new-season switch, **Uz Gragon** has moved from being a cohort of *CTV's* body-conscious-obsessed show, *Love It Up*, to cohort of the network's lower-key talk show, *LifeTime*. Because, she said, she wanted to introduce "more romance" into her life. During her five years on *Love It Up*, the 35-year-old journalist-producer has eaten cake and写字楼和 eats, along with a libidinous-looking co-star, presented 14 one-on-one sessions in all. Now Gragon said that the show "was a fulfilling experience, but I'm looking forward to showing my more thoughtful and serious side." Besides, she added, "how could I refuse a *LifeTime* contract?"

—Edited by NANCY HAFNER



Artist Chandra Sekhar, Archana, Vancouver

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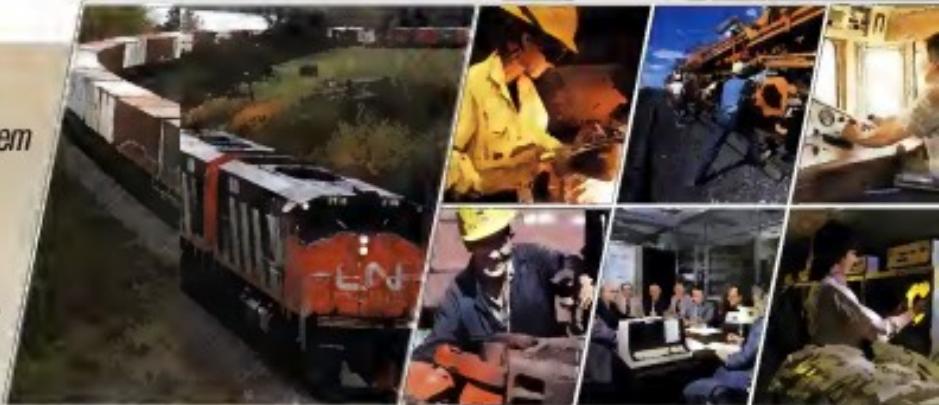
  
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*Responding to  
the Challenge*

# Judged with kindness

## JUDGES

By Jack Batter  
*(Mosaic of Canada, 222 pages,  
\$19.95)*

**T**he least explored members of the judiciary are the men and women who sit on the benches in judge-

ment in part, that is because in the British-Canadian system judges are expected to be the embodiment of dispassionate neutrality. Emerging in the media with a strong, distinctive personality would undermine that carefully cultivated judicial image. Jack Batter, the prolific lawyer-author of

Judges and *In Court*, has countered tradition in his newest book, *Judges*, by putting faces to those who sit in judgment—making his book as much a departure as it is an extension of work he has done before. But although judges remain an important role in demystifying an aspect of the legal process, there are clearly defined limits to what can be expected from Batter's approach.

In addition to his current collection of judicial profiles, anecdotes and thumbnail sketches, the author writes,

"I admitted almost all of the judges I talked in on the spur of putting this book together." That echoes his afterword for *In Court* where, he declared that the courtroom adventures interviewed for that book were "among my favorite people."

Batter's grueling, autoreviewing style

annoys as both his greatest asset and his most frustrating constraint.

The obvious willingness of so many judges

at so many different levels of the court

system to give Batter unbroken clarity

flows from their awareness that he

is not about to render harsh judgment

on anyone. His portraits are accessible,

fascinating and reveal rather more

about a given judge's interest in

judging or just about the political

machinations behind his appointment

to the bench. But inevitably, a certain

uniformity of tone and blandness flows

from such a broad-based approach.

Still, the writing is smooth and fast-

paced throughout. Batter has a considerate gift for succinctly setting forth

the legal issues. And many of the cases

are genuinely fascinating, especially

when told from the judge's point of

view. District court Judge Stephen Horne

of Toronto recounts his exhilaration

in the challenging courtroom

sparring match with Curtis Smith's

defense counsel, Brian Greenbaum, during

the hearing to extradite Smith to

California for her part in the death

of actor John Belushi. And Sandy Mc-

Heron, now retired from Sudbury's

Court of Queen's Bench, describes

the passions aroused in all

participants—including himself—in

the notorious battle between Colin and

Johnna Thatcher for custody of their

three children.

The anecdotes flow continuously. As

in his earlier works, Batter is wise

enough to let his highly articulate subjects do the talking, the author has elected not to reach for names. Judges is

a smooth journey down a narrow

highway past interesting places. It bypasses the rougher, more challenging

tracks—but there is still reason to be

grateful to Batter for having proved

such an entertaining guide on the way

—GET GENEVIEVE KAY

# 21 of my favourite things.

Rollerskating  
to work

Playing  
from work

Giving  
people bags

Smoking  
ashtrays

(they make  
great gifts and  
even greater hints)

Get Talk Boy!

ice cream. Raoul!  
Tanning beds

Letters from my brother  
Listening to non-stop  
music on my walkman

Big Trees (small  
giant buildings)

Walter Chocolate Chocolates

Watching Soaps all afternoon

Old Clothing Stores

Driving around in a  
convertible

Walking up thinking its  
a Work day, then  
realizing it's not

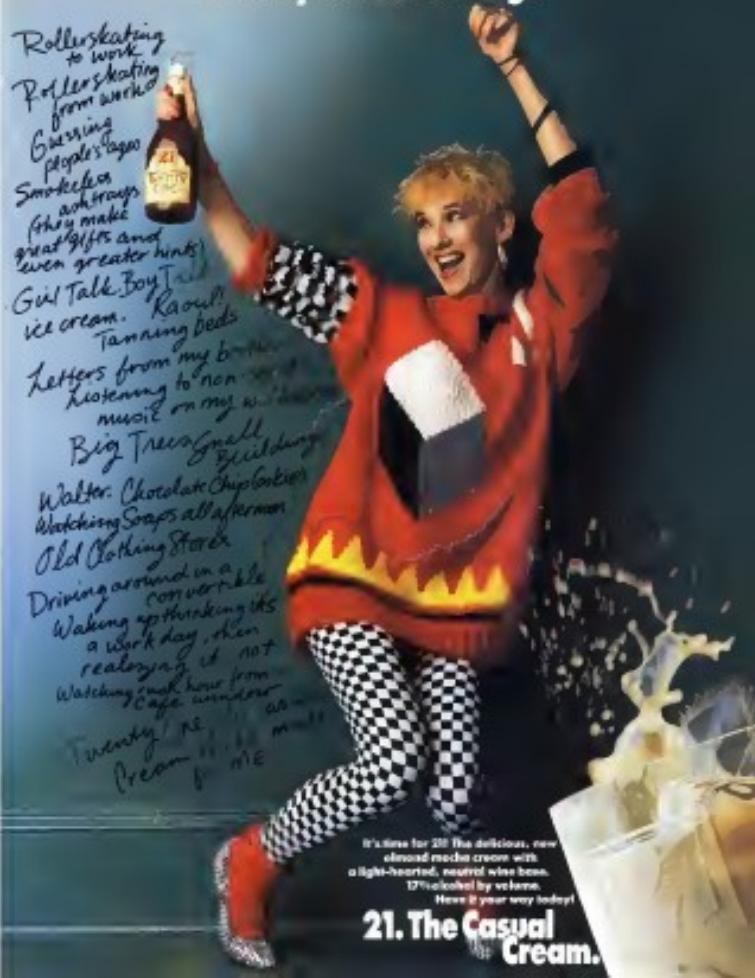
Watching each hour from  
Cafe windows

Twenty to  
Breakfast

cream  
for me

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**BOOKS**

## Kingdom of the damned

THE UNDERGROUND EMPIRE WHERE CRIME AND GOVERNMENTS ENBRACE  
By James Mills  
(Doubleday, 4,665 pages, \$22.50)

lyings over a patch of Mexican jungle, a place where what appears to be soccer balls—leather sacks filled with cocaine. Small-scale wars involving banditry, guns and grenade-gang erupt on the remote fortified Mexican estate of a drug lord. Mexican police interrogate a drug dealer by beating his broken foot—with his own crutch. These are snippets from the most compelling of narrative tales that author James Mills, a former *TIME* magazine reporter, has gathered in *The Underground Empire*. For more than five years Mills followed an elite U.S. government drug enforcement unit, Canac, as its crusade to break the syndicates that grow, ship and sell drugs. Mills was present during major investigations almost from conception and spent hundreds of hours waiting in cheap hotel rooms as coffee-drinking agents prepared to spring their traps. From conversations with agents, informants, drug dealers and paid assassins, and from dozens of still-secret U.S. government reports, Mills has crafted a fascinating but deeply flawed book on what he calls the international "empire" of drugs.

Mills's book also includes in-depth reconstructions of three of Canac's operations. The author follows Canac's bosses as they recruit informants and track suspects—a Florida-based marijuana smuggler, a Cuban-born, Mexican-based marijuana and

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100-100

casino dealer, and a Chinese opera and bejeweled chess with branches in Hong Kong, Thailand, Burma and San Francisco. The odds against success are high. Drug dealers often operate under aliases from safe houses equipped with state-of-the-art communications and security systems. Centris triumphs in two of the three cases, which end in major arrests. But the third drug chief eludes his partners. Along the way, Mills brings together a vast array of characters, some of them underground veterans. The dialogue is raw and the portrait of the Centris agents' lives, of alternating boredom and bursts of terror, gives the anti-drug crusade the genuine feel of war.

But Mills often seems to lose control of his material. He drifts for several pages into such intriguing but irrelevant digressions as the mortal problems of a drug lord/god manager. At times, it seems that Mills included unedited tape transcripts to flesh out a publisher's fetish for a document-based tone. There is an excess of accounts of drug dealers' opulent habits, tasteless remarks and curses. The focus from one Centris operation to another has shifted. Another major flaw is that Underground Lawyer looks like an inferior, shabby sequel to earlier reader novels to follow the huge cast and complex conspiracies. As a result, Mills's points are often lost in a muddle of lived-in relevance trivia.

But at the core, Underground Lawyer is truly a shocking book. The conspiracies and corruption it details are as the grand scale—large enough to make drug dealers the potential rulers of several states in Latin America, to enable them to buy control of local governments in the United States, and ultimately, to place themselves beyond the reach of any law anywhere.

And Mills's analysis is based on drug research, buttressed by the views of diagnosed veterans narco-elite officers. No account of drug culture—"putting powder on the table" is the jargon of the trade—can do any more than map the flow of drugs as long as huge, well-financed syndicates survive to make up their losses. Centris needs to uproot those syndicates—but recently the Federal Bureau of Investigation financed the agency and replaced it with an info-operated unit.

That action, says Mills, diminishes Washington's claim that it seriously intends to end the drug trade. Now, there will be more freedom for the high-level drug syndicates that have already penetrated into the very police and intelligence services of nations clashing to Africa in the war against drugs.

## SHOW BUSINESS

# Grand arias in a hockey palace

During the hockey season, Vancouver's Pacific Coliseum house is to the Vancouver Canucks and their followers. But last week one of the world's most celebrated opera companies transformed the enormous hockey palace into a sumptuous cathedral with blonde curtains and gold leaf red seats. As part of the Expo '86 World Festival, La Scala's La Storia company mounted Giuseppe

Verdi's translation of the opern's Italian libretto onto two giant video screens, which also can show images of the stage scenes. SHL what made the evening unforgettable were Verdi's traditional arias—lively, tuneful, grand set pieces and stirring music. A compressed mix of international comedy and family feeling, of star-crossed loves and religious conversions, *I Lombardi* marked La Scala's

for the dramatic emerged in Act II, which opens with a view of the columns of a soldier's palace. Then, a grey curtain backdrop falls, and the scene shifts to a rose garden where Pagina (voiced by Paul Plakka) is a doting and slightly shadowed beast as measuring his bedsheet. Suddenly, the curtain rises again to reveal the full 125-member chorus, dressed as warring crusaders in white tunics,



Scenes from Verdi's *I Lombardi*, showing examples of the drama and rock-and-roll elements

Verdi's rarely heard 19th-century epic *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata* (*The Lombards in the First Crusade*). The company faced the challenge of filling 4,700 seats for six evenings, and appealing both to dedicated opera-lovers and blue-and-white curiosity-seekers. In the end, a combination of rock-concert technology and the legendary talents of La Scala's 364 artists members and 85 technical staff forged a glittering success. Both company conductor Gianni Salsi and general director Gianfranco Govi, 77, "had the ability to adapt."

Paradox ensued at staging an opera in an arena, but one could not fault La Scala for lack of innovation. For the first time in the company's 186-year history it used satellites to pro-

ject translations of the opern's Italian libretto onto two giant video screens, which also can show images of the stage scenes. SHL what made the evening unforgettable were Verdi's traditional arias—lively, tuneful, grand set pieces and stirring music. A compressed mix of international comedy and family feeling, of star-crossed loves and religious conversions, *I Lombardi* marked La Scala's

first appearance in Canada since it performed Verdi's *Mâhabîs* at Montreal's Expo '67. *I Lombardi* involves three brothers, Arvino and Pagina, and their rivalry for a woman named Violinda. Although Violinda chases Arvino long ago and bore him a daughter, Giselda, Pagina has never overcome his passion for Violinda, nor forgives his brothers. One night, he attempts to murder Arvino, but kills their father by mistake. The tortured Pagina is then sent to the Crusades against the Moors. Pagina, disguised, helps him gain a major victory.

La Scala's performance reached majestic heights, particularly during the accessible arias. The company's fa-

# Cavalcade of cinematic artistry

**C**hest Eastwood arrived in 1986. Jane Fonda in 1985. This year the director of Montreal's World Film Festival, Serge Lutenski, predicted the biggest celebration ever. Crowds are estimated to have totalled 250,000, a record for the event, which runs Aug. 24 to Sept. 6. But instead of stars, the festival concentrated on an auditory luminescence: Australia's Fred Cox (director of *Mas of Flowers*) and France's Jean-Jacques Beineix, best known for his *Site-Dive*. The absence of celebrities so frustrated some that on Aug. 22, the festival's opening night, police had to separate photographers sniffing for the chance to record one of the few faces that recognized former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, strolling toward the Place des Arts for the premiere screening of Franco Zeffirelli's *Othello*.

Still, there was little quelling with the range and quality of the 12-day festival's 265 feature films. Screenings of the 12 films in the *Decade of Today* showcase were especially well-attended—particularly *Clockwise*, starring British comedian John Cleese as a time-obsessed, status-conscious British headmaster, and *Nights and Days*, a side about a black brass band in a depressed British Midlands city. Other hits included a movie short film-making by FRANCE'S Jean-Luc Godard, *Grandeur et décadence*, d'après un roman de Georges de la Touche; *The Bar and Fall of a Small-Time Showman*, and *The Devil on the Flesh*, by Italy's Marco Bellocchio.

Devil underscored the advantage the Montreal festival enjoys over its major competitor, Toronto's Festival of Pictures, which opens this week. Bellocchio's picture features a scene of oral sex so explicit that the Ontario Film Review Board has requested 39 seconds worth of cuts. By contrast, after its usual Montreal festival premiere, Devil opened in that city's commercial theatres.

Another feature that has distinguished Montreal from its more formally organized Toronto counterpart is the many opportunities that festivalgoers have to hear actors and directors discuss their work in informal meetings. This year one of the most

anticipated participants was Australia's Cox. Before the Aug. 25, 9 a.m. screening of his new film, *Ceremony*, he spoke publicly against the global dominance of American cinema. He even uttered a challenge: "Are Canada should be your flag goes higher, and show only Canadian films."

Cox's audience applauded dutifully. But throughout the festival, the Canadian-made features, both English and

French, attracted noticeably smaller audiences than importers like Ottawa's Film Board or Canada's National Film Board. Last year, the festival's attendance was 250,000, a record for the event, which runs Aug. 24 to Sept. 6. But instead of stars, the festival concentrated on an auditory luminescence: Australia's Fred Cox (director of *Mas of Flowers*) and France's Jean-Jacques Beineix, best known for his *Site-Dive*. The absence of celebrities so frustrated some that on Aug. 22, the festival's opening night, police had to separate photographers sniffing for the chance to record one of the few faces that recognized former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, strolling toward the Place des Arts for the premiere screening of Franco Zeffirelli's *Othello*.

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Andie MacDowell, director Gilles Carle at festival premiere: AP/Wide

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—GERALD PEARY in Montreal



Moos with Jack Bush painting: INDEPENDENT OF BEING AN ARTIST

## THE ARTS

# Fine arts of reform

**I**t was a classic conflict between the art market for celebrated art and the often unappreciated lives of artists themselves. Toronto commercial art gallery owners Evelyn Akers, Birthe Dyrendorf and Walter Moss had organized the artists this week of an estimated 120,000 worth of works by renowned 20th-century artists, including Pablo Picasso, David Hockney, Andy Warhol and Ken Danby, to raise money for Canada's first retirement home for visual artists. Some of the works for the Sept. 4 auction at Toronto's Park Plaza Hotel were donated by the dealers, who also said that they would contribute a portion of the total profits to the retirement home fund. Said Akers: "There are a lot of mature artists in this country, and some of them die in poverty." The financial plight of artists received national attention last week, as Ottawa released its 30-page federal budget report. The *Status of the Artist* Chaired by Montreal playwright Granville Gingras and Toronto-based farmer-labor administrator Paul Stree, the task force made the same point as the author's organizers: artists need—and merit—more help than they are getting.

Stree and Gingras compiled the report after consulting with 400 artists in cross-disciplinary fields. Their report ranges across most aspects of artists' lives, from freedom of artistic expression to such health and safety measures as proper labeling of dangerous paint pigments. But it concentrates on tax

issues and social benefits. The report argues that artists should receive special concessions similar to those for lawyers and lobbyists, such as being able to average their incomes over five years. It also suggests that the estimated 120,000 artists who make less than \$35,000 a year should not pay income tax, and that expenses related to the creation or performance of their art should be tax-deductible. The report calls for workers' compensation for all artists and access to private pension plans for self-employed artists. As well, it urges developing criteria to make employment insurance available to artists—a controversial suggestion, in view of the government's current move to tighten the law regulating EI. Stree argues that Scandinavia, French and British artists already enjoy some social benefits.

Some artists, including pop star Corey Hart and wildlife artist Robert Bateman, clearly benefit without such protection. But the average annual incomes for all artists disciplines is well below the poverty line. In 1981, when figures were last tabulated, dancers earned \$2,154 and visual artists a paltry \$2,763. Karl Beveridge, a spokesman for the Toronto-based *Independent Artists* Office, declared, "People don't understand the psychological impact of the necessity of being an artist." Artist Beveridge has survived his lean years through door-to-door market research and what he calls "treasure plucking."

Apart from the creation in 1987 of

the country's major grant-giving organization—the Canada Council—the needs of those who work in the cultural sector have generated more formal inquiries than positive changes. By the end of the year, seven task forces on the arts, set up at the recommendation of former Minister of Culture Michael Moore, will have submitted their reports. Moore's successor, Plaza MacDonald, acknowledges that it will take her months to sift through the findings of various groups, which range from Edmund Biesty's July report on funding for the arts to the upcoming report on the National Museum of Canada, expected later this month.

Meanwhile, critics across the country are watching for government action on the report. Beveridge says that the *Independent Artists* Union supports most recommendations. But his response to the flurry of arts task forces is more skeptical. Dan Bellidge, "The rhetoric is improving, but not the reality." At last week's news conference, Gollman declared, "Artists are not asking for more than anyone else. They are just asking for equitable treatment." But artists will be facing stiff competition from other groups in their bid for federal money.

—JANET A. YOUNG with RELAY  
MONCKEY in Ottawa

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *A Mother of Honour*, Author (1)
- 2 *A Perfect Spy*, James Clavell (2)
- 3 *Red Snow Falling*, Clancy (3)
- 4 *Act of Will*, Broadribet (2)
- 5 *The House Supremacy*, Ludlum (4)
- 6 *Wanderlust*, Stein (4)
- 7 *The Duke Washington*, Keenan (5)
- 8 *Power of the Weak*, Smith (6)
- 9 *Suspense*, Cossutta (7)
- 10 *The Best of the Living*, Johnson (8)
- 11 *Nautilus*
- 12 *Fatherhood*, Cooley (1)
- 13 *Fit for Life*
- 14 *Diamond and Diamond* (1)
- 15 *Invitation to a Royal Wedding*, Hall (1)
- 16 *The Statistic Diet*, Ratner (1)
- 17 *James Herriot Dog Stories*, Herriot (1)
- 18 *Rock Bottom*, Bill Sterk, Widmer and Devotion (1)
- 19 *100 Best Companies to Work for in Canada*, John Perry & Lynn (7)
- 20 *Fast! The Man and the Machine*, Lacy (1)
- 21 *Resonance*, Foster (1)
- 22 *Catholics*, Pynchon (with Dalton) (18)
- 23 *Positively Last Year*
- 24 *Compliments by Frances McNeely*

# The Slam can handle it, easy

By Allan Fotheringham

**O**ne always has to take into account with someone you greatly admire. Basement, I have Van Adams—great stuff. But it's a different thing when you go head-to-head with a real estate tycoon like Margaret Laurence. She thinks I'm pandering to racism by referring to the new premier of British Columbia, Willis (Wooden Shoe) Vander Zalm, as a Dutch immigrant.

Well, let's build on a minute. "Eastern," as we know, has replaced "Asian" as No. 1 on the HPI Parade in the letters to the editor column. In fact, it has almost lost its meaning, in the way that "Asian" as a serious word got beaten to death in the 1980s when every overzealous policeman and stern university president was labelled a "Terrorist." The point is that Bill Vander Zalm is a Dutch immigrant and he has risen to the important post of premier of the third-largest province in the country—a remarkable achievement and a noteworthy event. He is very proud that he is a Dutch immigrant. He mentions it every chance he gets and, in fact, used it extensively in his climb to the top—pointing out to the electorate how the gross free enterprise system could reward someone who never got past high school but worked hard, slugged head-down and made a million.

Canadians, as a whole, love the Dutch, partly because they admire their unbroken pluck and work virtues, and partly because of the special role of Canadian troops in liberating Holland. As witness the annual Ottawa spring festival with the tulips still supplied by the Netherlands.

It is news, and significant news, when an immigrant—as opposed to a native-born politician—can win such an important position as premier. The reporters in the press rooms at the Social Credit convention at Whistler who picked the Slam were going crazy trying to check whether or not he was the first immigrant to become premier. He Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southern News*.



role he so obviously considers would fit his modest intent.

The fact that Vander Zalm is a Dutch immigrant should not be shied away from or ignored; it should be emphasized everywhere to demonstrate what can be done in this country. (The man himself, whose modesty quotient is about the same as Kissinger's, says that same thing all the time.) His achievement should be recognized, the same as when any other barrier is broken. When Dave Barrett was elected premier of British Columbia in 1972 it was front-page news across the country that he was the first Jew ever to become premier—another barrier broken. Bill Bennett, when premier, was news because he was the only Canadian premier in his group who had not attended university. (Vander Zalm, who started his nursery business at 17, now looks like that role, as well as in understanding the only-in-BC fact that three of the past four premiers—Wacky Bennett, MacWhinney and now The

won't. Tommy Douglas was born in Scotland, another testimony to how much influence that race has had in forming this nation.) Premier Joe Gunz of Prince Edward Island is from Lebanese parents, born in Charlottetown just another example, as is Vander Zalm, of the growing diversity of this country that so long has a majority of whites. It's one of the great advantages of Canada, and not Hitler. Senator Berger of the Americans has the sleeves only the native-born earn for the privilege, he has been denied a chance to try for the White House, a

Slam—have been millionaires.) It was, however, impossible to comprehend today, a major political story when Jack Kennedy campaigned to be the first Roman Catholic to become president of the United States. Ronald Reagan is the first president ever to be divorced. That's news too. Vander Zalm, with his unique background is news, as is Vincent Massey who, when he finally shook off that colonial yoke of having our governor general appointed someone paid from back home, and made him the first true Canadian in that post.

Jeanne Sauvé made headlines when she became the first woman Speaker of the House of Commons—and then first female as boss of Rideau Hall. Geraldine Ferraro was a significant breakthrough as the first woman on the presidential ticket; as Pat Carney will be when she becomes finance minister—if Barbara McDougall doesn't beat her to it. It would be significant, and admirable news, for example, if a Canadian premier had the courage to appoint a homosexual as attorney general. Every barrier broken is news. Willis Wooden Shoe? He's been called for years by the Victoria and Vancouver press in a power that leaves political nickname (Wacky Bennett, Tim [Terrible] Campbell, Flying Phil, Gagliardi). The newspaper cartoonists have made his wooden-shoe image as familiar as Brian Mulroney's exaggerated Irish jaw or Peter Trudeau's nose. (Is it "rancid" to make fun of Mulroney's jaw? Or do Gaulé's nose?) In fact, the cartoonist who invented the wooden shoe trademark is Bob Hermann, himself a Dutch immigrant who was once sued for libel by Welfare Minister Vander Zalm after a cartoon depicted the unemployed-bashing politician picking the wings off a fly. (Judges might be a shot, wooden shoes certainly are not.)

Vander Zalm—and Gunz—are a good sign that things are changing in BC. Come on, Margaret, you're familiar with the attempted censorship of your own writings, let's get back to lighting the woodstoves and南北breathes who are the real energy.



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